The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE recent Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales was called to prayer, thought and action in face of the fact that the membership of the churches of our order continues to show a decline and that there is a serious shortage of ministers and ministerial candidates. These are, of course, two aspects of the same situation. Dr. Berry, in his article in our last issue, declares that what is true in this country is true throughout the British Commonwealth. Is this important? There are those who seem to believe it is not; that so long as there is no appreciable decline in the total number of professing Christians—and Dr. Latourette encourages us to believe that the numbers have increased and are likely to go on increasing—there is no real ground for concern because 'Congregationalism as we have known it is dying on its feet'. It is impossible to say how far the losses of one denomination are the gains of another. The Methodists in England this year register a small but heartening increase, and the Roman Catholic Church claims a steady stream of converts. The Archbishop of York has thought it necessary to point out that there is a traffic of converts from as well as to the Roman Catholic Church, in spite of its rigorous discipline. And there always has been a two-way traffic between the Free Churches and Anglicanism. One of the most serious leakages away from the Free Churches is through the boarding schools which, in England, are predominantly Anglican in influence. Many of our people in official positions find it convenient to be in formal communion with the State Church. There is thus a constant drainage away from the Free Churches of those men and women from whom much of the leadership might be expected. A survey of the church affiliations of Congregational families over the last 50 years would be interesting and possibly startling. In the setting of the universal Church this is not all loss. Indeed we have sometimes wished that the passage of good Christian people from one branch of the Church of Christ to another might be more readily practised and recognized. We have known some Free Churchmen who would be happier and more useful in the Anglican Church and we have known more than a few Anglicans who are Free Churchmen in everything except form and custom. As privilege is surrendered—not often—or dies, co-

operation grows, to the enrichment of all and the glory of God. Nevertheless, the agriculturist must also be a farmer, and the ecumenical Christian a member of some local church. So our present concern is the churches of the Congregational order, where our gravest weakness is our lay leadership. Whatever may be said about our ministerial leadership during the last fifty years, our lay leadership is undoubtedly less vigorous. We are, for example, rightly rejoicing in the success of the Home Churches Fund, but how late in the day it came! Laymen who in their own business affairs were giving and receiving moneys that spiralled with war-time inflation were content to allow their church finances to drift perilously near disaster. This must have had some effect on ministerial recruitment. But it is by no means the only nor even the chief reason for the decline in the numbers of members and ministers. If Congregationalism has ceased to have any particular meaning; if its witness has no longer any distinctive note; if it can be merged with general acclaim into some more tenaciously formal organization; if, in fact, our witness falters because our conviction has weakened, then it is unreasonable to expect young men and women to face a long, rigorous training to equip themselves for a ministry whose prestige and usefulness is dwindling even in the estimation of its friends. If the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound who shall prepare himself for war? If Congregationalism is not worth preaching it is not worth practising.

* * *

This is not to be narrowly denominational. That suggestion cannot be addressed to us by anyone who knows our history or indeed our present temper. We are the only considerable fellowship of churches, among the first in the field, that yet has never formed a denominational missionary society, and there have been spokesmen of the London Missionary Society who have insisted in Congregational assemblies, as for example the recent Wellesley Conference of the International Congregational Council, that the L.M.S. did not exist to implant or maintain Congregational churches in the foreign field. What narrowly denominational assemblies would receive such addresses, especially if they were associated with an appeal for funds? It may be said—it is said—that a fellowship of churches so loosely organized cannot sustain the rigours of persecution or maintain its life in the face of long continued indifference. If this were true, missionary and evangelical work would always have been impossible. The only secure and finally rewarding attitude arises out of unshakable personal conviction. Vital Christianity has always been a minority movement both within and without the Church. It is leaven in the community of the natural man, even the natural churchman. If we are to revive our work, it is required of us to

search our hearts and minds, re-think the principles of Congregationalism and work out their application to our present condition. If we do that faithfully we shall serve not only our own generation but those who come after us, and it will cease to be a matter of indifference to us that our children drift away from the fellowship because they have never felt that anything more was involved than an accidental convention of birth.

* * *

FOR we are engaged in no sham fight. The Christian civilization of the West may be a poor enough thing but it is the best mankind has yet known and it has within it the principle of development. We have outgrown the *laissez faire* economy of the nineteenth century, but it was that liberalism which taught us the standards by which we now criticize it. That is true of the liberal Christianity whose deficiencies are now being so urgently pressed upon us. But it is worth remembering that it was liberal Christianity which from the time of St. Paul until now has offered the Gospel and the whole Gospel to the people, translated the Scriptures into the vernacular, evolved and published the apparatus of criticism and threw down the walls of partition which separated the common man from the Holy Place. All this because it believed with St. Paul that where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, with its high and onerous responsibilities. To believe in man is sometimes more difficult than to believe in God.

* * *

THERE are of course alternatives. The things that can be shaken are still being shaken, and there is a great longing for the security of a closed system of hierarchical authority in both Church and State. But this a war in which there is no discharge. Europe is dividing itself into two opposing systems at present locked in conflict. But it is by no means inconceivable that either or both may find some advantage in compromise, in some agreed division of spheres of influence. The Roman Catholic Church made a concordat with Mussolini and never finally broke with Hitler. Who shall say that its powers of accommodation have been exhausted? The moral strength of England for three hundred years has sprung from the Puritan nonconformity that took root also in North America, but has been so conspicuously lacking in Europe. That Puritan sense of responsibility to God and the conviction that the riches of Christ are inexhaustible and not to be confined in any closed system of thought and life has still its witness to make. Forms may change, but the spirit must not die.

* * *

THE Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization has been in Europe and has visited Moscow. The purpose of his mission was to save the last and greatest attempt to establish international relations upon a basis of the mutual tolerance of widely divergent systems of national government, the negotiation of conflicting interests and the acceptance of a world order in which peace is indivisible. In the five years of its history U.N.O. can claim a record of useful work. It has prevented annexations in Iran, Greece and Korea; stopped a war between India and Pakistan; compelled a settlement in Indonesia; saved a precarious peace in the Middle East. Its Trusteeship Council has almost, if not quite, persuaded the Colonial Powers of the world to apply the principles of government practised by the late Lord Lugard in Africa. Its various technical bodies have cared for the starving children of Europe and the Arab refugees, prevented a cholera plague in Egypt, undertaken to stamp out venereal and other diseases in Haiti and organized the preservation of farm stock in Europe. This is an impressive record which far exceeds what its predecessor, the League of Nations, was able to do after the first war. Nevertheless, the maintenance of a grand alliance meeting regularly in conference is still the test of the Organization's power to survive, and however vocal the small Powers may be in debate, the grim fact is that during the last five years, the Big Five became the Big Three and are now substantially the Big Two, deeply divided in aims and policies. The secrecy of Russian policy has been a powerful diplomatic weapon, but the silence has become increasingly eloquent in the last two years. Atomic armament is less the cause than the occasion of offence. The crucial year is calculated to be 1953. It takes two to make and keep an alliance. It needs only one to perpetuate a war of nerves and fear. Mr. Trygve Lie carries with him the hopes and prayers of a great multitude.

* * *

ATTEMPTS are made from time to time to restate the doctrine of toleration that was implicit in the liberalism of the nineteenth century, when the bases of humane civilization were generally accepted, if not always acted upon. The cases of Dr. Fuchs in England and Dr. Jolie-Curie in France, as well as others in important positions, who under challenge admit to membership of the Communist Party which involves the unquestioning acceptance of the 'party line', show that no such agreement on fundamental principles now exists. Can any community tolerate among its members the acceptance of a secret discipline imposed from without? Secrecy and the bedevilment of language, so that the great words like peace and democracy cease to have meanings that the common man can understand, are making civilized intercourse

impossible and exploiting ignorance. To love darkness rather than light, to despise intellectual integrity, to mislead the ignorant in the interests of others, and to teach men so, these are grievous sins. As we pass more and more completely under the domination of the powerful technologies of physical science, it becomes urgent that the often naïve philosophy of the technologists themselves should be brought into the light of day. It is true that the 'capitalist imperialism' of Britain and of America has its black spots. The Slave Trade, many features of the Industrial Revolution, and the separation of power from responsibility made possible by the vast extension of joint stock enterprises are indefensible, nevertheless where the principles of freedom were accepted progress was and is always possible. Christian churches free from State control, Trade Unions, open Universities, freedom of speech and conduct within the law—these have given rise to a thousand and one things which have built and are still building the outward structure of the good life. Such progress is always too slow, but a slow ascent is better than a swift descent into intellectual and spiritual servitude.

* * *

If only the political problem be solved on the basis of the toleration of differences and the negotiation of conflicting interests, the world will move into an era of such material prosperity as it has never known, but if, when that time comes, freedom shall have perished and man's responsibility as a fellow worker with God cease to be taught, then he will become, like Esau, a profane person who for a mess of pottage sold his birthright. In this long drawn out struggle for the soul of a civilization the Church of Christ has its great part to play, and within the universal Church the spirit and genius of Congregationalism has its vital contribution to make. It may be a small matter whether Congregational churches continue to decline or be revived in strength again—as Morgan Gibbon, speaking of the Independents of the seventeenth century, once said, "Our Lord may not ride the same ass to triumph twice"—but it is not a small matter that the responsible freedom of the individual human soul should be maintained by preaching and practice.

* * *

This country is almost equally divided between those who believe that the social revolution should go on and those who believe that a period of consolidation is now necessary lest the whole edifice of the Welfare State collapse about us. Two bye-elections have repeated the verdict of the General Election. This suits none of the politicians and we may believe that a good deal of more or less 'exalted brooding' is going on among the party leaders. This Parliament cannot have a long life, but prediction is unprofitable. In foreign affairs and in general economic policy the range of differences

between the parties goes no deeper than the administrative level. A cautious approach to European Union, the unity of the British Commonwealth, the strengthening of the sterling area, keeping in step with the United States, the closing of the dollar gap, the increase of exports and the encouragement of agriculture—these, not all of them easily compatible with one another, are common ground between the parties. The range of differences is so comparatively small that an all-party Government, with Parliament acting as a Council of State, must follow the next election if the present equipoise in the country is maintained. Meantime controversial legislation will be almost impossible. But the financing of the nationalized industries, and especially of the Health services which now cost well over £300 million and may well mount to £500 million unless rigorously checked, involve administrative problems of real importance on which differences may arise. The Liberal Party is an unconscionable time a-dying and is being sedulously wooed by Mr. Herbert Morrison and Lord Woolton. Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Shinwell are exercising a restraint too marked to be entirely self-imposed. Either is capable of losing the next election for the Government, which is perhaps more likely than that Lord Woolton will win it. Mr. Churchill has made one great speech in this Parliament. But though no resolution of the deadlock is in sight, it is being increasingly understood abroad that this means no weakening of British foreign policy.

* * *

THE Seretse Khama affair has found its own level. It is heartening to know that the traditional Liberal concern for the individual citizen brought into conflict with the State is still vigorous in this country as it is in America. Can one imagine such an affair behind the iron curtain? And is this not an illustration of the public concern for the life, liberty and livelihood of the citizen which is one of the marks of civilization? While further information and reflection make any accusation of colour prejudice against the British Government untenable, the fact remains that the tribal decision arrived at in June last is set aside for reasons which existed before that date. Why then was the tribal assembly allowed to reach a decision? Perhaps it was hoped in London that the tribe would make intervention unnecessary. If that is so Seretse has the appearance, though not necessarily the substance, of a grievance, for the right of the Government to intervene cannot be questioned. What may be right for Seretse as a British citizen may not be expedient for him as Chief. As Chief-designate Seretse acted unconstitutionally, and as Mr. Churchill is reported to have said in another connection, "In the British Commonwealth when a ruler comes into conflict with the constitution, it is the ruler that goes".

* * *

SERETSE and his wife will, we hope, work out their own personal problem happily, but behind these personal disturbances looms the real problem of racial differences within the Commonwealth, notably in Africa. The honour and prestige of this country are involved in the care for the interests of the Protectorates. The forthcoming negotiations with the Union of South Africa will be watched with a determination to maintain that paternal oversight without which the native populations will be exposed to exploitation and propaganda.

* * *

THE Dean of Winchester, in a letter to *The Times* newspaper, has suggested some form of State aid for the preservation of Cathedrals and ancient parish churches. The ensuing correspondence spilled over into the columns of *The Spectator*, where a letter from the Rector of Dinder and Prebendary of Wells Cathedral reads thus:

> SIR,—If the State makes grants for the preservation of the fabric of our cathedrals and ancient parish churches, then inevitably the State will claim to have a voice in the way in which they are used. No longer will they be used exclusively for services of the Church of England. Other religious bodies will expect to be allowed to use them, and it will not be long before the naves of the cathedrals will be used for all kinds of concerts and plays which may not be of such a religious character. Does the Dean of Winchester realize this when he advocates such State aid?—Yours truly, B. W. BURNELL.
>
> Rector of Dinder and Prebendary of Wells Cathedral.

Does the Prebendary remember the observation of the Roman Catholic priest in the epilogue of Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* about Winchester Cathedral, where a statue of Joan has been erected, as being 'temporarily in the hands of the Anglican heresy'?

* * *

AMONG the recent books which will interest those who are fascinated by the tremendous drama of these times we have noticed *The God that Failed* (Hamish Hamilton, 12s. 6d.), which consists of six studies in Communism by writers who describe their journey into that barren wilderness and their return. The essays are of unequal value and Mr. Richard Crossman's introduction offers an account of why these different men found the Western democratic way of life so empty of hope that they sought refuge in what seemed to be a new land of promise but proved to be in fact an intolerable spiritual and intellectual tyranny. We have no space to discuss either the book or the introduction, except to note that the only kind of Christianity that these eager spirits seem to be aware of is a closed system whose complacent rigidities drove them into rebellion. Even Mr. Cross-

man, who knows very well where the strength and weakness of Protestantism lies, writes of 'the intellectual, wearied and worried by the privilege of freedom'. But freedom to the Nonconformist Protestant at least is very much more than a privilege. It is a responsibility, which every man must carry before God, unless he denies his very nature. Freedom indeed is the condition of all virtue. For while a man can be compelled to do good things, he cannot be compelled to become a good man. And who is to decide what are the good things except the good man? Nor is such a man left only with the guidance of 'the inner light' as Mr. Crossman suggests. The wearied and worried intellectuals of this book are men seeking a personal religion. The excursions into Communism have shown them one place where it cannot be found. It is an interesting and revealing book.

* * *

MR. HARMAN GRISEWOOD is responsible for the Third Programme of the B.B.C. His discussion of *Broadcasting and Society* (S.C.M. Press, 2s. 6d.) is a valuable essay in the problems and opportunities of serious broadcasting. How is this comprehensive public service to decide upon the aims and spirit of its work? It has immense prestige among writers and speakers and enviable financial resources. What ought it to try to do? The planned community to which we are now committed needs some philosophic basis and the B.B.C. has an important part to play in its formulation and discussion. It is interesting to have a competent evaluation of the permanent values of the liberal culture from which so many of our contemporary writers are in full flight. The general principles Mr. Grisewood discusses are illustrated in great detail in *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians* (Sylvan Press, pp. 448, 21s.), which is a reprint of the long series of 57 talks given under that name in the Third Programme in 1948. Broadcast talks are of course meant to be heard rather than read, though Mr. Grisewood, who writes a short introduction, thinks that a new literary form may be evolving. For some time a new evaluation of the Victorians has been going on. They had their successes as well as the failures of which their flippant successors made game. And it is now better understood that many of these failures arose less out of moral complacency; though that was not absent, than from the inadequate social techniques with which to deal with an immense increase in population. This book is a rich quarry of ideas and suggestions to be read as a series of conversation pieces with some of the best conversationalists in England. It is a pity it could not be published more cheaply.

* * *

We are glad to print here a letter from the Rev. E. P. Schofield, M.A., B.D., Minister of Clapton Park Congregational Church, and to commend its appeal to the wide circle of Albert Peel's friends among the readers of the journal he founded and edited with such distinction for 23 years.

The Editor, *The Congregational Quarterly*.

Sir,—The Clapton Park Congregational Church, of which the late Dr. Albert Peel was Minister for 12 years and of which he was a member until the time of his death, has completed arrangements for the erection of a memorial tablet, but it is felt that many friends would be glad of the opportunity to share in this memorial; so it has been decided to raise a small capital sum with the interest of which it will be possible to send, annually, historical books to younger ministers.

Thus the memory of Dr. Peel will be perpetuated in two ways very dear to his heart—a desire to spread abroad an accurate knowledge of the history of the Christian Church and a love of younger men.

May I appeal, through the medium of *The Congregational Quarterly*, to all who desire to share in this memorial to send a gift to the Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Ingham, 25 The Vale, Southgate, London, N.14.

Faithfully yours,

E. P. Schofield.

* * *

BELIEFS ABOUT THE LAST THINGS

By John Baillie, M.A., D.D., D.Litt.[1]

What is the chief end of man? Such was the first theological question that was ever put to me, and the answer I was then taught to give is the same as I should still have to give today. What I propose to do in this lecture, however, is neither to elaborate that answer nor to defend it, but to set it in its historical context by tracing in outline the succession of answers that have been offered throughout the whole known course of human history. My outline will be so bare that I cannot hope to mention any fact that is not already in all our minds; but because we have come across the facts in a variety of different contexts, they may, as it were, be reposing in different parts of our minds, and I think something may be gained by trying to see the whole picture at a single glance.

'End' can mean two things. It can mean either purpose or closing phase. The interconnection of the two meanings, which causes them to be so often expressed by the same word, lies in the fact that the purpose of many an entity or process is fulfilled in its closing phase. But in the Greek language we can make a sufficiently clear distinction between the words τέλος and ἔσχατον; and consequently in English between teleology and eschatology.

Every spiritual tradition known to the historian has in it an element of teleology in that it proposes or presupposes some general purpose for human action; but such teleologies are eschatological only in those cases where this purpose consists in the attainment of some future good. Many of the ethnic teleologies are not thus eschatological. There is in them no looking forward, but only a looking upward or a looking inward. There is faith in them, but no hope. What they regard as making life worth living is not the expectation of some better future state either of the individual or of the race, but the possibility, open here and now to all who follow the prescribed method, of rising above the meaningless humdrum and attaining a condition of soul worth having for its own sake. This is what some Greeks called the 'flight from the world of appearances to the world of pure being', and a similar conception lies at the root of all Indian culture.

To say that such cultural and religious systems are not eschatological in their orientation does not mean that they contain no ideas of what future time is likely to bring with it, but only that they do not regard the future as likely to bring with it any good such

[1] Printed by permission of Drew Trustees, at whose invitation the lecture was delivered at New College, London.

as to provide the whole of life with a meaning or the whole of human effort with a direction. Our best starting-point is, therefore, to try to understand what ideas about the future actually were present in these ancient systems. In the crude tribal cultures it was apparently taken for granted that human life remains unchanged from age to age, there being no thought that a possible future might bring anything better than the past or present. Eschatology appears in the thought of these tribes only in the hope that their tribal prestige, power and traditional observances will continue unimpaired, and in the resolve to do all that in them lies to ensure this. But when we pass to the higher and more reflective civilizations of Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean, the Far East, and even the American continent, we find something quite different. Time and the affairs of men are now believed to follow a circular course, so that, after the lapse of a long period, all things will return to their former condition, and so again, times without number. Generally it was supposed that the downward half of the cycle was at present being traversed. Pessimism thus found a double foothold in men's minds. The prospect of an endless recurrence of the same weary round was itself sufficiently dismal, but to that was usually added the conviction that there had now supervened the stage of disintegration which heralded the dissolution of the present world order, preparatory to the emergence of another which would follow identically the same course. It is clear that where such ideas prevailed, the future had no such promise of greater bliss as would give direction to present action or provide solace in present passion.

But if such were the prospects for the future of society, what was believed about the destiny of the individuals who meanwhile died? Where the strict interpretation of the cyclical doctrine was adhered to, it was believed that these would reappear in the following cycle, so that, as was said by some Greeks, the same Socrates would again marry the same Xanthippe and drink the same cup of hemlock. But what of their existence meanwhile? The answer was roughly the same in all parts of the world, and for the most part the same in the higher civilizations as among savage peoples. It seems to have been held everywhere that when a man dies, his ghost or wraith goes on living, usually in some kind of underworld. This wraith is from one point of view the wan and shadowy remnant of the man himself—all that is left of him after the decay of his living flesh; but from another point of view, it is rather a sort of wan and shadowy double, which accompanied the man throughout his life and is now left to continue its own feeble existence. What survives is, therefore, not the 'soul', either in the sense given to that word (*ψυχή*) by later Greek philosophic thought or in the familiar modern sense of it; for, on the one hand, the ghost also possesses a shadowy kind of body which can in certain circum-

stances be seen, and, on the other hand, its soul is of an equally enfeebled kind. It is not part of the man that survives, but a ghostly shadow of the whole of him. In this sense, it is true that our race has always and everywhere believed in some kind of continuance after death. The idea of total extinction appears to be purely modern, the nearest ancient approach to it being possibly in the teaching of the Sadducees who flourished during the last three centuries of pre-Christian Judaism. On the other hand, the kind of continuance believed in was not such as to provide any consolation for the tragedy of death, still less any rejoicing in the prospect of a future that would compensate for the sorrows of earth. There are, indeed, among certain peoples, signs of idealization of the life lived by the shades, but this is never of a kind that prompts any longing for its realization. This sort of survival has thus no significance for religious eschatology. It had, however, important religious results of another kind. The dead had to be buried in prescribed ways, and their continued needs must be provided for. Offerings must be made to them. In many parts of the world they came to be worshipped with elaborate ritual. They could interfere in numerous ways with the fortunes of the living, and could never be totally disregarded. Sometimes, also, necromancy was practised.

Perhaps I have now made clear what I mean by saying that ethnic religion contains no real eschatology, having no convictions about the future, either of the individual or of the race, such as could be a ground of joyful hope. Wherever hope now exists in the world, it appears ultimately to derive from one of two sources—from the Hebrew tradition (which may in its later phases have been influenced by Zoroastrian teaching), or from the philosophic tradition of Socrates and Plato (which had affinities with the teaching of certain Greek mystery cults). The difference between the two is that, while the Hebrew hope was primarily for the future of society and only at a later date came to include the thought of a blessed survival for the individual, the Greek was only of a blessed continuance of the souls of individual men after the death of their bodies.

With one exception, the Hebrews were the only people who ever looked forward hopefully to a future that would be better than the past or the present. All other peoples, who had sufficient imagination to conceive of a future that would be anywise different, seem to have adopted the cyclical view. And wherever men now take a hopeful view of the historical process, either on earth or in some heavenly transfigurement, it is because they have come under the influence of the Hebrew tradition. The one exception is that of the Magian teaching of the Zend-Avesta which, in looking forward to the final triumph of good over evil, also proposes a happy issue

to human history: and, as has been said already, this Persian teaching is likely to have had some influence on the later stages of Judaistic thought. It was therefore a fitting tribute which, according to St. Matthew's story, was paid to the infant Jesus by the 'Magi from the East' when they came to Jerusalem to ask, 'Where is he that is born King of the Jews?' But it was the Hebrew tradition alone that was to be so determinative of later thought.

The Old Testament differs from all other sacred scriptures, except those which have been influenced by it, in being throughout concerned with history, that is, with what has happened and is going to happen during the course of time. Indeed we may almost say that the very conception of history, as we now possess it, derives from the Old Testament. Even the Greek and Roman λογογράφοι and *historici* are hardly more than chroniclers or narrators, offering very little indeed of the kind of historical interpretation we expect from historians today. The Hebrews were the first to conceive of the course of events in time as having a significant trend, as leading anywhere worth while, or as accomplishing anything new. For the Greek and Roman, as for the Hindu, time follows a circular, rather than a rectilinear, course, so that, as Lucretius puts it, *omnia sunt eadem semper*. But for the Hebrew, with his conception of a *creatio ex nihilo*, so repugnant to classical thought, history was the domain of novelty, and so was really getting us somewhere. Unlike the others, therefore, his spiritual interest was concentrated on the past and on the future, on the mighty acts of God in time gone by and on His promises for time to come.

Long before the period of the Babylonian exile, Israelite piety had been nurtured on the expectation of a glorious future which God had promised to His chosen and peculiar people, but from that period onwards this expectation assumed a more definitely Messianic form. Men's hopes were increasingly set on a coming 'Day of Jehovah', which would introduce a new era of unmatched blessedness. The Saviour who, as the Messiah or anointed of God, would bring this about, was to be of the Davidic line, and, in His person, the monarchy would be restored; yet it was no mere return to former things to which the prophets taught the people to look forward, but something better than the heart of man had hitherto conceived. The Messianic hope had its political side, as it has among the Zionist Jews to this day; it had also its strongly emphasized social side in the redress of wrong, making an end of the exploitation of the poor by the rich and of the weak by the strong; but, dominating the whole, was its Godward side, betokening the rule of God in the hearts and lives of men, and the renewal of the ancient covenant between God and His chosen people.

It was not, of course, by any natural process or as the result

of human initiative that this Messianic age would supervene, but only by the mighty act of God Himself. Moreover, as time went on, it came to be realized that the ordinary course of nature would itself have to be transformed, if true blessedness were to be enjoyed. Hence the pictures of the Messianic age came to include, not only a radical change in the dispositions of men, but also a new order of nature, in which the very beasts of the field would lose their fierceness, the soil would become more fertile, and even the heavenly bodies would shine with a sevenfold brilliance. By the end of the Old Testament period, the Messianic kingdom was thought of as a renewed earth under a renewed sky; and soon afterwards, in the many apocalyptic writings of the last two centuries before Christ, it came to be shifted away from this present earth altogether into a heavenly region above.

It will thus be seen that the eschatology of the Old Testament is essentially of a corporate kind. It is a hope for the future of the Israelite community and through it, as the later Prophets taught, of the whole of mankind. It therefore yields precisely what we should now call a philosophy of history. The gaze of the Old Testament writers is along the line of earthly history towards a final consummation of that history. Their interest is in what is going to happen to the historical scene itself, not in what happens to individual men and women after death calls them away from the historical scene.

As for the destiny of individuals, the Hebrews of Old Testament times followed the universal view. They believed that when a man died, his *nephesh* or essentisal being 'was no more', but his wraith or shade went down to the underworld of Sheol and there continued to dwell. (It should perhaps be added that though his *nephesh* now no longer existed as such, its constituent elements were not regarded as disappearing, since the dead body (*nebhelah*) returned to its original state as dust of the ground, while the life-giving breath (*ruach*) returned to God who gave it.) Sheol is translated in our Authorized Version as 'hell', but this is likely seriously to mislead us, since we think of hell as a place of torment and punishment to which only wicked men go, whereas the Sheol of the Old Testament has no punitive associations, any more than has the Greek Erebus or abode of Hades—it is a place to which all men must go, the righteous no less than the wicked.

What characterizes the thought of Israel, Greece and Rome (the three cultures from which our own is derived), during their respective Golden Ages, is not any further positive development of this universal doctrine of ghostly survival, but, on the contrary, a gradual failure of its hold upon men's minds. To the cultured men of the Periclean and Augustan ages, the underworld was not very real. Few of them, perhaps, were sceptical of its existence, but

such vague belief as they had in it bore no relation to the higher thoughts that occupied their minds. Moreover its associations were now of a dismal and depressing kind, as contrasted with the more or less neutral way in which it was regarded in less developed cultures. Even more so is this the case with Israel. In the prophetic teaching, Sheol is a dark and dismal place where the shades of the dead (*rephaim*) lead a feeble and willess existence, unillumined by any fellowship with God. "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence". The Prophets, indeed, show themselves anxious to rid the minds of the people of all preoccupation with the continued existence of the dead, since only in this way could the debased practices of Canaanite religion be combated; and I think we can well understand their anxiety in the matter when we reflect on the recent resurgence of such 'spiritualism' among ourselves. It is worth noting that a negative attitude to the life of the dead is represented also in the more developed Indian cults, though in a somewhat different form. Here the dead are believed to be reborn into a new series of lives, but such rebirth is regarded as a doom rather than a blessing, and all the proposed ways of salvation are ways by which this destiny can be eluded and personal existence come to an end in a state of *nirvana*.

It was not, then, through any gradual development or refinement of the universal belief in ghostly survival in the underworld that the hope of a blessed future life for the individual was born into the world, but rather as the result of certain new lines of reflection, whose emergence almost seems to have presupposed a lessening of the vividness of the earlier belief and a discontinuance of the spiritualistic practices associated with it. There were two such lines of reflection, very different in character and leading to very different results. The earlier of these made its first appearance within the Dionysiac and Orphic cults in Greece and was taken up into the thought of Socrates and Plato. Almost certainly it had its roots in that ecstatic experience enjoyed by the worshippers of Dionysus, which they could interpret only as a temporary release of the ψυχή from its bodily imprisonment. In this interpretation of a mystical experience, we must find the fateful origin of the now familiar dualism, which regards the human being as a temporary conjunction of two entities, body and soul; and, likewise, of the now equally familiar idea of the immortality of the soul after the dissolution of the body. The traditional view of the ψυχή as we have seen, made it a sort of shadowy double of the whole man, but now it comes to be conceived of rather as a part of him, and, moreover, as the more important part of him, so that so-called dead men can be conceived of as still living lives as significant as, or even more significant than, men still in the flesh. It was

on this basis that Socrates and Plato developed their famous doctrine of the inherent deathlessness or indestructibility of the disembodied soul. It was a startling doctrine when first taught, as we can see from Glaucon's reception of it in the *Phaedo*. Hitherto 'the immortals' was another name for the gods and 'mortals' for men; but now we learn that, as regards the important part of them, men too are immortals.

The other and very different line of reflection was developed among the Jews of the last two centuries before Christ, being to some extent paralleled in the Zoroastrian teaching of the same period. The Hebrew prophets, as we have seen, had for long been teaching the people to look forward to a glorious future, but it was a future for the nation, in which only those individuals would share who were still alive when it dawned. But in the latest period of pre-Christian Judaism, this hope gradually came to be conceived of in a more transcendent way; that is, as applying no longer to a future period of earthly history but to a new and heavenly order of things, which would supervene upon the close of that history. This made possible the entertainment of the novel and audacious thought that, not only some future generation, but the generations of men already dead should have a part in its blessedness. It was a thought urgently demanded both by the growing realization of God's personal relation to each separate soul and by the growingly acute consciousness of the injustices of earth; and while it would have been fantastic to have taught that the denizens of Sheol should be revivified to make their appearance again on the ordinary historical scene, there seemed nothing fantastic in believing that they would rise from Sheol to have part in a supernal order of things, when the present historical scene should have given place to 'a new heaven and a new earth'. Sometimes it was held that only the righteous dead would thus be resurrected, while at other times it was believed that all men would rise for a final judgment, but that those judged unrighteous would return to Sheol, or to a still less desirable abode called Gehenna, which roughly corresponds to the Greek Tartarus, or to a fiery abyss more terrible still. It should be added that in the last century before Christ a differentiation tended to be made within the abode of the dead while they await the final resuscitation and judgment; some of the apocalypses teaching that the righteous dead waited or, as was often said, 'slept', in a region called Paradise—a region which, a century earlier, had been reserved for Enoch and Elijah, the two heroes of Israel who had never died and gone down to Sheol but had been 'taken up'. We cannot fail to appreciate the radical difference between this Judaistic conception of the whole man rising again from Sheol to take part in a blessed heavenly life and the Hellenistic conception of a blessed immortality for the disembodied soul in Hades.

There are only two passages in the Old Testament, and these probably among the latest it contains, namely the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah and the twelfth of Daniel, in which resurgence from the dead is clearly envisaged, but in the New Testament it is everywhere presupposed. It is, however, most important to realize that this new interest in the destiny of the dead is still strictly confined to the context of the larger hope of a blessed culmination to human history as a whole. The primary and all-embracing concern of the New Testament is with the hope of a new world and a new community. Unlike the Platonists and so many moderns, its rejoicing is not in the assurance that men continue to live on after death. It is even doubtful how far the New Testament writers believe that all men do so live on, and it is especially doubtful whether they believe, like Plato, that men are inherently immortal. The New Testament takes no satisfaction in the thought of continuance as such, but only in resurrection to the life of the New Age, and it speaks with nothing but dread of the prospect awaiting those who, living or dead, are shut out from the life of that Age. When it speaks of eternal αἰώνιος life, and contrasts it with eternal death, it does indeed mean a life that is going to last for ever, yet not *any* life that is going to last for ever, but only a life that partakes of the blessedness of the new αἰών.

The New Testament thus follows the apocalyptic and Pharisaic teaching in believing that the righteous men of former generations will rise again from their 'sleep' in Sheol, or in the region known as Paradise, to take part in the life of the New Age along with those who are still above ground when it appears in the full glory of its final consummation. There are indications that some of the early Christians were deeply troubled by the fact that some of their number were dying before this consummation had taken place; and St. Paul, in what is probably the very earliest of the New Testament documents, comforts them by saying: 'I would not have you ignorant, brethren, regarding those who are asleep. You must not grieve as do others who have no hope. . . . For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not take precedence of those who have fallen asleep. . . . The dead in Christ shall rise first; then we, who are alive and are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall be with the Lord always. Therefore comfort one another with these words'.

St. Paul, however, says something else in the same passage. He writes: 'Since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so also through Jesus, God will bring with Him those who have fallen asleep'. When the new hope for the dead first came to Israel, it came in the context of the Messianic expectation, but it now receives

definite substantiation in the fact that One has *already* risen from the dead, namely the Messiah Himself. Hence though Jesus could during His ministry argue on more general grounds for the resurrection of the dead against the Sadducees, and though St. Paul himself, when defending his belief in it before the Sanhedrin and before Agrippa, could appeal to his Pharisaic upbringing, nevertheless it was wholly natural that from now onwards Christians should rest their case upon Christ's own accomplished resurrection. So St. Paul can write to the Corinthians: 'If Christ is preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you assert that there is no such thing as resurrection from the dead? . . . In fact, Christ has been raised from the dead, the first harvesting of those who are asleep'.

The fact that in the person of the risen Messiah there should thus have appeared the first harvesting of a general resurrection of the just augurs, however, a still more far-reaching change of eschatological outlook. For though the eschatological frame of the New Testament is derived in all its features from that of the prophetic and apocalyptic teaching, the early Christians conceived of themselves as occupying an entirely new position within that frame. The dominating note throughout the New Testament is that of fulfilment. The essence of the Gospel is that the New Age, to which the Prophets and apocalyptists had looked forward, was now at last dawning. The substance of our Lord's preaching was that the καιρός or decisive hour had arrived, that the promised Rule of God was at hand, and that men must now at once make up their minds about its claim. 'Blessed are the eyes that see what you are seeing; for I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you are seeing and did not see it, and to hear what you are hearing and did not hear it'. The Messianic era has now opened; the Messiah Himself has appeared, and suffered and died for our sins, and risen again for our salvation; the Holy Spirit has now been poured out on all flesh, as the prophets had foretold; and all the powers of darkness have been decisively conquered. On the other hand, the New Testament writers realize that all things have not yet been accomplished. God's rule is not yet established in the fullness of its glory. The powers of the new order are already available to Christian believers, but the evils and disabilities of the old order are still with them, so that they are, as it were, living in both orders at once. The powers of darkness have been decisively defeated, but they still carry on their guerrilla warfare. And especially there is one last enemy, as St. Paul calls it, which, though conquered in principle, has not yet been destroyed, namely, death. [It looks as if the earliest Christian community after Pentecost had hoped that all its members would be among those who would 'be alive and left' when the final act in the drama

of redemption was played, but in fact Christians continued to die like other men. A few, like Lazarus, Jairus's daughter, the young man of Nain and Tabitha had immediately been raised from the dead, and perhaps it was at first hoped that these would not have to die again, but would be left until the return of the Lord; but in fact they all had to die again. These cases, therefore, though they were signs of the approaching consummation, were not really 'a first harvesting' of the general resurrection. So far, the risen Lord Himself is the only 'first harvesting of those who are asleep', though containing in Himself ample promise of that which is to come.] In all the apostolic writings there is thus a careful balance between the note of fulfilment and the note of further hope. As Professor Cullmann has vividly expressed it, the early Christians conceived of themselves as living in the interval between 'the decisive battle' and 'Victory Day'.

When we pass from the New Testament to the later ages of Christian tradition, two changes of emphasis seem to me to manifest themselves. The first is an altered balance as between hope and fulfilment. There was indeed no wavering of the conviction that *finita iam sunt proelia* or that, in the sacrificial death of Christ, our salvation had once for all been secured, but there was a lessening of the consciousness that Christians are already living in the New Age, having its powers at their disposal. There is, undoubtedly, less of what we have come to call 'realized eschatology' in orthodox Christianity than there is in the New Testament. The other change is not unconnected with this, but concerns the emphasis laid on the future destiny of the individual as over against that of the holy community itself. As the orthodox Catholic system developed, it was dominated by the conception of 'the next world' or 'the life after death'. The one burning question was, 'What is going to happen to me when I die? Shall I go to heaven or to hell?' The other question, 'What is going to happen to human history and to the whole cosmic process?' was always present too, but, I think, often in a somewhat otiose way as compared with the former one. The work of Christ thus tended to be confined to the provision of a means by which individuals, after death, should escape the pains of hell and gain the joys of heaven; and the development of the sacramental system was largely with a view to the implementation of this provision. In the New Testament, however, we find far less about 'the other world' or 'the next world', and more about 'the new world'. Nor is 'the life after death' a typical New Testament conception. The dominating concern of New Testament eschatology is with what we should now call 'the philosophy of history', with the direction and end of the cosmic process, with the fortunes of the holy community and, through the influence of that community, of mankind's long journey through time to eternity.

Fullest attention is indeed given to the destiny of individual Christians who meanwhile die. If comparatively little is said of their intermediate state, there is everywhere the firmest possible assurance that they will rise again to have part in the final glory. But this assurance is always set within the frame of the community's destiny as a whole.

(I cannot at all agree with Professor Tillich when he writes that 'The question of the destiny of the individual after death is no part of theological eschatology. Eschatology can preserve its theological seriousness only if it once for all excludes questions of "the state after death" and relegates them to the empirical sphere. The answers to these questions have nothing to do with faith or unbelief, but too often with curiosity and occultist presumption. Hence the New Testament myth of the end never treats the conquest of death in isolation from the conceptions of judgment and consummation. Participation in the historical process (*das Teilhaben am Geschehen*) and in the transcendental meaning of such process presupposes a transcendental element in the participant. Any further statement is meaningless as an objective description, even if allowable as myth'.[2] Nor do I feel that Professor Dodd, in any of his books, gives sufficient weight to the New Testament teaching about individual destiny. But I do agree that its dominating outlook is along the line of humanity's historical journey towards its final end rather than, as it were, *across* that line to the mansions of those who meanwhile leave the historical scene.)

This brings me to the modern period, and I must now finally say something about the eschatology of our Western world within the last three centuries. To begin with, it must be emphasized that all the significant modern views have the Christian teaching as their ultimate background. They are, as it were, Christian heresies, and could not have arisen anywhere else than on soil already planted with Christian ideas. At the same time, it is equally true that they could not have arisen if other, and extra-Christian, ideas had not also been exercising a powerful influence on men's minds.

The first typical feature of modern eschatological thought is its very great preoccupation with the question whether men, when they die, cease to exist or go on living. How earnestly both the philosophy and the poetry of the nineteenth century wrestled with this question! The majority of those who thus discoursed on immortality thought it was the Christian hope they were speaking of. Many of them were indeed conscious of discarding the notion of a *bodily* continuance, but that seemed to them no more than a mythical integument of the essential Christian concern. They did

2 *Religiöse Verwirklichung*, pp. 139, 293.

not see that in making this change, and in reverting to the Greek mystical and philosophic conception of a disembodied spiritual life, they were stepping completely outside the framework of Christian thought. Yet the most remarkable change consisted in the fact that what was now valued was continued life as such. It is obvious that the original Christian hope was never for continuance as such—which was quite as likely to mean the torments of hell as the bliss of heaven. The Christian hope was for a better life in a better world; but in the nineteenth century there were many who desired no more than what Tennyson called 'the glory of going on and not to die'—yet who desired that with all the passion of their souls. I shall remark only that the orthodox teaching of the intermediate Christian ages did something to prepare the way for this by the greater relative emphasis which, as compared with the more cosmically oriented eschatology of the New Testament, it placed upon the fate of the individual after death; but where mediaeval man sought assurance that his beloved dead would escape damnation and be granted the bliss of heaven, modern man seeks only the assurance that they will continue to exist. It is difficult to conceive of anybody listening to St. Paul and taking away nothing from the encounter but a passionate desire to go on living, somewhere, somehow, after he was dead!

The other characteristic feature of modern eschatology has been the emergence of the belief in the moral and spiritual progress of mankind from generation to generation and from age to age. Of course, it had long been realized that, as time went on, there was a gradual accumulation of knowledge and technical skill, but hitherto it had been taken for granted that such knowledge and skill were quite as likely to be used for evil purposes as for good ones. However, from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, the traditional assumption of the natural corruption of the human heart began to give place to an increasing trust in its essential goodness, and it came to be widely believed that the ills of the past had been mainly due to defective knowledge and understanding. It followed that, as knowledge now grew from more to more, so the race would increase in moral stature and the world become a better and a happier place. Thus there appeared on the scene a new variety of eschatology, which may justly be described as the typical eschatology of modern Western man. The hope on which modern man has chiefly stayed himself has been the hope that his children would be born into a better world than he himself has known, and his children's children into a better world still. It is true that, however firmly believed in, this eschatology had two weaknesses when regarded as a substitute for the Christian teaching. In the first place, the duration of progress must be limited by the period of habitability of this planet; and in

the second place it must be asked, 'What of the generations that perish by the way?' The former difficulty, however, did not usually cause overmuch concern, since the day of ultimate disaster was regarded as likely to be immensely distant. And as for the latter, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries very commonly tried to combine the two characteristic modern varieties of hope which I have distinguished (though it must be said that the attempt more often resulted in an uncomfortable juxtaposition than in a real combination), namely, belief in the progress of society, and belief in the continued existence of disembodied souls after death.

I shall, however, add one reflection. However mistaken we may now see this modern belief in progress to have been, it has one important affinity with the authentic Christian hope, which is shared by none of the other eschatologies we have surveyed, namely, that it takes time and history seriously, and looks forward along the line of time and history towards a consummation devoutly to be wished. Indeed we may even say that in this respect, if in no other, it has been truer to Biblical thought than some reputedly more orthodox varieties of (Christian) teaching have always been. Whatever be its other defects, an outlook which leads our thought forwards towards the consummation of history itself in a blessed community has learned something from the New Testament, to which those need to be recalled, whose sole eschatological interest is in the prospect awaiting those of their number who meanwhile leave our earthly company, one by one.

EXISTENTIALISM

By J. B. Coats

Existentialism, which can boast on the Continent a substantial array of notable names, Kierkegaard, Husserl, Jaspers, Heidigger, Berdyaev, Buber, Marcel, Mounier, Lavelle and Sartre, has aroused very little interest in this country. Russell, in his *History of Western Philosophy*, makes no mention of the school, and it is usual either to refer to it with amused contempt or to regard it as the latest manifestation of Gallic decadence. It may be worth while to attempt a more balanced view of a movement which can hardly have persisted so long and gained such distinguished adherents without possessing some merit. It may well be that our British blindness to its significance is in part due to a certain philosophical provincialism of which history has already provided some striking examples.

The low estimation, if not the unsavoury reputation, of existentialism is, no doubt, in part due to the peculiar nature of the prophets with whom it is associated in British minds. A widespread belief (a false one, incidentally) regards the high priest of existentialism as being Jean Paul Sartre. Now it is true that in certain respects the thought of Sartre is hardly reputable intellectually. Berdyaev, indignant at the general assumption that Sartre was the chief contemporary exponent of existentialism, declared, 'L'existentialisme, c'est moi', and remarked that Sartre is something of an intellectual playboy who, on some issues, should not be taken too seriously. Many of Sartre's writings, indeed, seem in part inspired by the desire to shock, and some attitudes he adopts are essentially neurotic.

If certain sensational and apparently decadent elements of Sartre's thought have done little to recommend existentialism to British common sense, perhaps also its origin, the theistic branch of which is usually traced back to Kierkegaard, as its atheistic branch is to Nietszche, is again somewhat equivocal. Kierkegaard, indeed, was a very great man, whose influence and stimulus have been immense; most of the themes which have been elaborated in many different forms in existentialist literature can be traced to Kierkegaard's remarkably original contribution. Nevertheless his thought was to a large extent perverted by the neurotic character of his personality. The extreme subjectivity of his earlier thinking (his dictum, 'subjectivity is truth', if taken at its face value, involves a total solipsism and a denial of all possibility of truth), like the denial of subjectivity and the authoritarianism of his later writings, in

which he declared that 'subjectivity is untruth', were both to a large extent a reflection of his father-complex, that ambivalent attitude to his father which prompted his alternate rebellion and submission. His indefensible rejection of reason and his doctrine that Christianity must be accepted through the absurd, were in large part the consequence of his neurotic impulse to submit himself to his father (or to his father's image deified), an impulse which he himself recognized as a return of the rebel to subjection. It is significant that Kierkegaard interpreted unbelief in terms of rebellion against God. All the less creditable aspects of his thought, his aversion to politics, to science, to the objective approach to truth and the violence of his attacks on the Church can be connected with his incapacity for human relationships, which is again traceable to the excessive severity of his upbringing, to the effect of his father's discipline in draining him of spontaneity and inspiring in him an unconquerable melancholy and inner division. The gloom, the unbalance, the disposition towards heroic and tragic attitudes, which were the fruit of Kierkegaard's early training, make little appeal to the British temperament, and there is a tendency to feel that a philosophy which takes its rise from a personality so tortured is poisoned at its source.

Nor is the position improved if one points to the influence of Nietszche on the atheistic stream of existentialism, for Nietszche is in many respects a counterpart to Kierkegaard, as well as a less attractive personality. He shares with Kierkegaard a disposition to deify the individual and despise the masses, and to laud the so-called heroic virtues at the expense of those which make for happiness and harmony in personal and social relationships. And if some of the utterances of Nietszche's sage, Zarathustra, seem hardly sane, they can be matched by Kierkegaard's vitriolic attacks on those Danish pastors who were human enough to crave for happiness and security in marriage, or on those others who, whether Christian or not, were rebellious enough to demand reasons for their faith in Christianity instead of merely submitting themselves to Christ, their King.

If, however, we feel disposed to attribute the vogue of existentialism to some widespread modern neurosis, or to a disposition, greatly to be deprecated, to dethrone the goddess of reason, a review of our contemporary existentialists dispels this view. For Berdyaev, Buber, Jaspers, Marcel, Mounier and Lavelle are all conspicuously healthy and balanced personalities. Nor can they be regarded as being, in any sense, apostles of unreason. They may, indeed, express some scepticism about the possibility of giving an adequate account of the universe in terms of science or conceptual analyses or mathematical logic, or without taking into account the irrational elements of the personality. But their philosophy is couched in reasonable terms, and they appeal to reason. A review of their teaching will show that it is not lacking in significant elements.

The principal claim of the existentialist school to significance is probably based on its contribution to the problems of value. Traditionally, existentialism is associated with a sufficiently precise body of ethical affirmations. The original basis is in Kierkegaard, in what he calls 'the choice of oneself', or 'becoming an individual'. 'The crowd is the lie', Kierkegaard remarked. To become an individual one must learn to distinguish oneself from society, from merely customary morality; as a Christian one must reject a merely 'geographical Christianity', a Christianity which is in essence the conventions accepted and rites practised by the race into which one is born. One must achieve 'inwardness', a clear consciousness of oneself, of one's situation in relation to oneself, to other persons and to society. One must achieve a vivid realization of one's primary impulses, of the desires that move one with passion; then one must make one's choice. Having rebelled in youth against his father's gloomy religion, Kierkegaard's early attraction was to the 'æsthetic'; he was drawn to the figures of Faust and Don Juan in particular, and had a powerful urge towards romanticism. 'Either-or' shows Kierkegaard making one of his primary choices, a rejection of the 'æsthetic' for the 'ethical'. Later he rejects the 'ethical' for the 'religious', while, still later, 'religion A', the religion of immanence, is forsaken for 'religion B', a religion of transcendence, in which God is worshipped as the 'wholly other'. These decisions were responsible choices, made with the passion of his whole being, the fruit of his unending efforts to relate himself to himself, to God and to the total situation in which he found himself. This responsible, creative mode of being is what Kierkegaard called 'existence', or the 'existential appropriation of experience', or 'authentic being'. 'Unauthentic' experience is that of the person who merely complies with social pressure or is the passive recipient of influences; or that of the person, perhaps a Hegelian professor or an orthodox Christian, whose acceptance of some formal system has left no room for his own creative activity; or the experience of the soaker-up of merely objective knowledge which, in Kierkegaard's view, by its nature is incapable of being 'existentially' experienced. The devotees of science generally are in danger of forgetting what it is to 'exist', for in their absorption in the merely objective, their capacity for 'inwardness', for the awareness of one's inner tensions and possibilities, of one's relationship to God and to other persons on which spiritual growth depends, has been destroyed.

The conception of 'anguish' in Kierkegaard is not based primarily, as might be thought, on his own neurotic conflicts, real though they were, but on an ethical affirmation. Kierkegaard is saying that the man of full consciousness, the man whose spiritual sensibility is not blunted by the lethargy of custom, recognizes himself as having a foot in two worlds and as experiencing continually

the tension between the modes of existence in these worlds. There is, first of all, the world of 'spirit', of 'possibility', the world whose realization—a realization which can never be fully accomplished because the scope is infinite—depends on man's creative and responsible activity in relating himself to God; there is, secondly, the world of natural determination, the world in which man is subjected to pressure by his instincts, by material necessity and by society. Kierkegaard's affirmation is that man, far from evading his 'anguish', the tensions and conflicts of his situation, should achieve a full consciousness of them and then should choose the life of spirit, seeking to create and re-create himself continually by his aspiration towards the life of possibility, instead of allowing himself to be determined by social and instinctive pressure.

Brandt referred to Kierkegaard's conception of 'the individual' as 'the pearl of great price' which Kierkegaard gave to the modern world, and we can recognize the great influence Kierkegaard exercised on Ibsen. 'The individual' was the person whose truth was 'existentially appropriated', whose continual creative activity in relating himself to himself, to other persons and to God resulted in a developing apprehension of truth as well as a continually increased capacity for integrating himself and canalizing his energies. Kierkegaard's conception of 'existential truth' is at the root of all the thought of the existentialist school. Sartre, for example, teaches that man creates and re-creates himself through his freedom, or that, at all events, he only achieves genuine personality in so far as he does so; thus to Sartre the person who uses his potential freedom to throw away his freedom, to repose his being on a Church, a party or on Mrs. Grundy, is an object of contempt, a *salaud*. Sartre's description of man's 'anguish' in 'Existentialism is a Humanism', as being based on the necessity that falls upon him to make his own decisions in a position in which whatever he does affects the whole world, is not only striking and dramatic but true to man's central situation. It is true also, as Sartre says, that man cannot, without 'bad faith', place the burden of his responsibility on God or on a supposedly existent body of objective values. He is 'condemned to be free', and must shoulder the burden of decision. It is important to recognize that there are noble and heroic elements in the ethics of Sartre, who was deeply affected by the period of French resistance. But one may ask, with Berdyaev, on what metaphysical authority (in view of his complete atheism and pessimism) he imports these ideal principles into his ethics and philosophy.

It may be noted here that there is a certain confusion in Kierkegaard's use of the term 'existence' which has dogged the feet of existentialist philosophers ever since. His original use of the term was in reaction against Hegel. To Hegel the rational was the real and the real the rational; and the world was an immensely elaborate

dialectical system, the only realities being concepts or essences. Kierkegaard did not believe that reality could be fitted into the Hegelian system; he remarked that man cannot live in these enormous systematic buildings. Thus Kierkegaard turned from the conceptual and abstract to the concrete, from essences to real existences. Here 'existence' is thought of, on traditional lines, as in dialectical opposition to 'essence'. The 'essence' is the form, the 'existence' is the individual which possesses the form, not merely as an idea but also as an actuality. But Kierkegaard also uses the term 'existence' in relation to the experiences of persons, in the sense of the authentic. 'To exist', then, means to 'stand out', to distinguish oneself from those forms of one's experience which are determined by instinct or the impersonal collective. 'Existence' is thus given a distinctively ethical connotation; its use in this sense posits and implies a belief in the superior value of conduct based on 'independent' judgments and valuations.

The emphasis on the values of freedom, independence, responsibility, creativeness, a capacity for flexible relationship, is common to both theistic and atheistic existentialists. But it is worth noting that most of the existentialists are either specifically Christian, or, at all events, theistic thinkers. Kierkegaard conceived of personality in terms of tragic and heroic effort, and his effort was devoted to 'becoming a Christian', to relating himself to God and to Christ. One of Kierkegaard's most characteristic remarks was that whenever a man had related himself to God personally as an individual, an event had happened of much greater importance than a European war. To Kierkegaard man was abysmally unworthy, a creature of egotistical craving, while God was the transcendent, 'the wholly other'. Yet man, by facing his 'anguish', by following Jesus in the acceptance of tragedy, could become to some extent a vehicle of the divine. Berdyaev, similarly, conceived of life in terms of the 'existential dialectic' of the divine and the human, the dualism of spirit and nature. God reveals himself in man as spirit, fire, freedom, love, creativeness, as an impulse to answer God's call by directing his total energies towards value. But there is also a principle of inertia in man, which predisposes him to comply with social pressure, to submit to his appetites and instincts. In so far as man lives from the spirit, he perpetually re-creates himself as if everlastingly rekindled from some inner fire; he endlessly seeks a more complete integration of himself, a freer play for his energies, a more passionate response to the divine call. But the principle of inertia leads him to take refuge in codes, in doctrines, systems, objectifications, thus escaping from the responsibility of creative activity and ceaseless readjustment of himself in some comforting set of beliefs. Berdyaev did not speak, after the manner of Kierke-

gaard and the Barthians, of man's unspeakable unworthiness. The divine in man, he said, is the divine-human; it is the human in man becoming divine through the activity of the spirit. Thus man, in Berdyaev's view, is capable of the greatest heights, and the human face is the summit of the universe. Nevertheless Berdyaev's view is recognizably Christian, just as it is 'existential' in its emphasis on creativeness and freedom, in its criticism of the concept or objectification, which is merely the projection of the spirit at some moment and must be transcended.

Kierkegaard and Berdyaev, like Nietzsche and Buber, are prophetic or inspirational thinkers rather than philosophers in the stricter sense of the term. Jaspers's existentialism represents the approach of a professional philosopher. Jaspers holds that since Kierkegaard's attack on Hegel it has ceased to be possible to imagine that one can sum up reality in a totalitarian intellectual system in which everything is harmonized and justified. Concrete existence will not fit into such systems. Many modern thinkers have believed that what is impossible to metaphysics is possible to science, that it is possible, in principle at all events, to build up a complete scientific world picture in which every item of valid knowledge will find its appropriate place. Jaspers rejects this claim. Science, indeed, provides the definition and standard of objective knowledge, but knowing objectively is only one mode of knowledge, just as to experience an existence as object is only one mode of 'existing'. Philosophy must give science its full due but must recognize and define the limits of science, realizing that knowledge in the mode of subjective apprehension, the knowledge of the artist and seer, for example, is inaccessible to the methods of science. Jaspers recognizes three forms of being, being-there, being-oneself, and being-in-itself. The knowledge gained in these modes is discontinuous and cannot be brought within a single frame of reference. The world of 'being-there' is the world of stable objects with which it is the function of science to deal. Some scientists attack metaphysics, but the truth is that the scientist *qua* scientist must abjure metaphysics. His task is to explore reality as fact and to show humility before facts and persistence in his effort to find them. The scientist shows a philosophical spirit in so far as he recognizes the limitations of science; he shows dogmatism and arrogance when he denies the value of other approaches.

The second mode of being Jaspers describes as 'being-oneself'; this is the mode of the uniquely personal self-determinations of the free personality. This is the mode Kierkegaard referred to when he spoke of 'choosing oneself'. In the world of being oneself, one makes and re-makes oneself. There is no continuity between the world of subjectivity and the objective world. In this subjective

world I find not the object but liberty. I do not exist until I bring myself into existence. I am "a being who is not, but who can and ought to be". Through my liberty I create or embrace value and take it into myself; if I am an artist I create æsthetic value. But this does not necessarily mean a rejection of traditional ethics any more than it meant to Kierkegaard the rejection of Christianity. But it does mean that I do not passively submit myself to the ethical law; if I embrace the traditional standard in any particular it is because I choose it, having an equal freedom to reject it. The realm of 'being oneself' is the realm of the apprehension of ethical and æsthetic value.

But there is also what Jaspers calls 'being-in-itself', the realm of transcendence. This is the realm of the unity and totality of all things, and can never be known by man for it transcends man. Yet man has a certain access to the transcendent world through his own transcendence. The philosophical mind can never forsake the search for unity and totality, and Jaspers finds them in 'Transcendence' which is manifested in the world but not identical with it, and embraces the world both of subjects and of objects. We can have faith that the discontinuity of the modes of being is somehow reconciled in 'Transcendence', but we can never grasp the precise form of that reconciliation. Religious faith and philosophy can make us aware of the presence and silence of Transcendence; we can be aware of the presence of God through inwardness. Yet God is unknown; He speaks to us only in riddles. If we could demand of God that He should speak to us in precise terms, our own freedom would be taken away. Yet in a sense God speaks to us; the man who engages in dialogue with God finds a voice coming to him out of the Mystery. Yet what the voice speaks does not belong to the common and objective world with which science deals; it is a personal response to a personal existence. Thus one can only have faith that God has spoken but not certainty, not the degree of certainty that, as we have said, is found in the reliable world of science.

As I seem to meet Transcendence, the Mystery, God, within myself, so in my choice of myself, in my choice of the being which I wish to make myself, I move towards Transcendence. I move towards some ideal meaning and realization. But here again the meaning does not belong to the world of science, and so cannot be revealed in language the sense of which is the same for all. The language of value is only accessible to subjective apprehension, from the level of 'being-oneself', and must be deciphered by each person for himself. We have nevertheless an abundance of witness to the world of transcendence in myths, in the intuitions of poets, in philosophies and religions. These are not so much true as figures

symbolizing the truth in some sense, existential appropriations of some aspect of the truth. Kierkegaard at one time denied the possibility of communication. Jaspers holds rather that our only access to the world of transcendence is through communication, through personal relationships, through response either to God or to another person.

Jaspers, like Buber, holds that the natural world can be known by another method than that of science. Science abstracts from nature those aspects which are capable of treatment by the methods of science, but nature can also speak to us as a person speaks to us, revealing to us a meaning. Thus through nature also, and through the work of the artist who reveals 'intelligible form' in nature, we make contact with Being-in-itself.

Of all the existentialists Jaspers has perhaps come nearest to building a philosophical system, if we can apply the term 'system' to a view that recognizes that any rounded system of 'existence' is impossible. No other of the existentialists has striven so earnestly to give an account of the whole of human experience, to deal with the world of science as well as with the world of subjective consciousness, of the intuitions of the seers and poets, and to give its full due to every form of human thinking, feeling and willing that he considers to be significant. The time has perhaps not come when we can make a just estimate of his noble effort.

Consideration of a number of other contemporary existentialists, notably Marcel and Lavelle, must be omitted, and it remains to indicate briefly the nature of the existentialist contribution. To the existentialist the nature of man has not been seized in its full amplitude by the various modern schools. The idealists have tended to be concerned with man merely as a logician; such thinkers as Hegel have constructed a world picture out of concepts and dialectic. The empiricists, believing that the idealist approach resulted in mere metaphysical word-spinning, turned instead to the world of fact, to be studied by the scientific method. They concerned themselves only with what Buber called the 'World of It', the world of objects, studying even themselves as 'objects', and forgetting that the world of their observation was the work of an abstracting process, that concrete existence is more than the 'essence' or form by which one attempts to describe it or some aspect of it. The activity of the scientist in apprehending the world objectively is a mode of existence and a significant one. But, in the view of the existentialist, neither formal reasoning nor scientific observation nor the two together can give an account of the human in the richness and variety of the modes of its experience. Existence is more than mere thought; it is more than detached observation. Man must exist before he can think; and he feels, wills and strives, if it is true that he also thinks

and observes; and the existentialist is especially concerned with the modes of experience that slip through the meshes of the conceptual and scientific method. Neither method, for example, reveals the drama of man's existence, his 'anguish'. Man finds himself 'thrown' into the world at the mercy of almost irresistible forces, coming partly from outside and partly inside himself. Society and other persons make demands on him, insistent cravings press on him, leading him to seek satisfactions which often escape him and almost always disappoint him. It is difficult if not impossible for him to find any meaning in existence. He may find some kind of peace by submitting to pressure, perhaps by conforming to society, but in doing so he is conscious that he is ceasing to be himself, and he craves to make himself into something which is the expression of his own choice and his own valuations. The existentialists show how the world of man's valuations arises out of his situation of 'anguish'. In the tension of his being he chooses himself, he makes himself; out of his existence he creates a form, an essence. This craving, valuing self, which is 'doomed to be free', in its anguish learns to take responsibility for itself and to build a personality which expresses its own uniqueness; or it may choose not to choose and sink itself in the impersonal collective or the sloth of convention.

One aspect of human experience is the response that one person makes to another, and in answering the call of another he transcends himself; but he may also answer the call of God, he may move towards the Transcendent. Most of the existentialists are especially concerned with showing how the world of value is built out of the world of response, of relationship. To Buber religious experience and religious values depend on two primary relationships (though these do not exhaust the significant relationships of man), the relationship which Buber calls 'dialogue with God', by which man relates himself personally to the world of ideal possibility, and the relationship which Buber calls 'meeting', by which men through dialogue build the life of community.

How, finally, may we best sum up, in a few words, the purpose of the existentialist school, at all events in its theistic branch, a purpose which it shares with the personalists? It is a desire partly to restore and partly to create the image of man in its full amplitude and potentiality. The influence of modern civilization has been, to a large extent, destructive of man in his true essence, as witness the many recent works with such titles as 'The Annihilation of Man', 'The Abolition of Man'. The totalitarianisms tend to make of man a mere thing, an instrument of policies conceived by a political faction for vast, impersonal ends. Marxism thinks of man as the helpless slave of 'ideologies', of systems which are the projections of

the relationships of economic production. The sociologist thinks of man as determined by social structures; the psychologist regards him as the creature of urges of which he is seldom fully conscious. The logical positivist sees man and the world in terms of mathematical logic. The existentialist, on the other hand, holds that the laws examined by the various types of social scientists and positivists deal with the 'unauthentic' aspect of man's being. But there is also the 'authentic'. If man is often determined by society he can also refuse compliance and relate himself freely and responsibly to society, thus learning to re-create society. The existentialist, like the personalist, is concerned with this free personality which emerges in man in the course of his historical development, a freedom founded, in the first place, on man achieving a clear consciousness of himself in the independence of his selfhood, and then building the 'world of possibility' through his decisions and valuations as he relates himself to the various aspects of his experience. It is through this free personality alone that we can meet the modern crisis and raise social life to new heights; to safeguard it and to increase our understanding of its nature and potentiality is the primary aim of the personalist and existentialist schools.

ON REREADING TERTULLIAN

By George Phillips, M.A., B.D.

Tertullian is worth rereading. A lecturer in the History of Doctrine told me once that when in his course he turned from Irenæus, Justin Martyr and the Apologists to Tertullian he always experienced a sense of relief and refreshment. It was not, he explained, because one agrees with him, but because one understands him. Tertullian leaves the reader in no manner of doubt as to his views, feelings and convictions. His thought is always clear and his style has lucidity and force, which can readily be reproduced in translation. These are really understatements. Tertullian was a rhetorician, trained in Rome as an advocate. He writes almost everything, even his remarkable "Ad Uxorem" in the forensic style, with marshalled argument enforced by a powerful armament of irony, grim humour, passionate pleading and violent invective. One of the chief reasons why the reader finds him refreshing is because he loathes vagueness. With certain curious exceptions he rejects scornfully anything which the mind cannot properly grasp. Philosophers and their abstractions and their dialectic are incomprehensible to him. He takes a "dim view" of the whole race of them, singling out Socrates in several passages for special criticism. How could this man be wise and a believer in the true God, when on his death-bed he adjured his friends not to forget the cock promised as sacrifice to Asclepius? He doubts his belief in immortality. That final scene recorded by Plato, where Socrates is seen calmly awaiting death and discoursing with his followers on immortality Tertullian judges inherently absurd. How could a man who has just drunk a draught of deadly poison sit down and talk philosophy? But of course he does not consider the evidence dispassionately. His view is based on *a priori* grounds. For him the great value of Christianity was the assurance it gave of immortality. This assurance however depended entirely upon revelation. Thus to allow that Paganism could afford this confidence was yielding your best ground to the enemy.

Still, even here we may see at work that powerful pungent rationality which pervades all his thinking, and generally determines his attitudes. His mind has amazing resources of erudition, ingenuity and surprising originality. In argument he is often impressive, but never subtle and hardly ever profound. His thought moves almost entirely upon what may be described as common-sense levels, except when dealing with the revealed mysteries of the Gospel. He expounds religion from a funda-

mentally practical and utilitarian point of view. Practices which seem to him useless or superstitious he boldly denounces however tradition may sanction them. The reader will often notice how attentive he is to small details. Thus in his tractate on Prayer he discusses why many of his day maintained a custom of washing hands before prayer. He tells us that he has investigated the origin of this habit thoroughly and has discovered that it referred to Pilate's washing of his hands before his surrender of Christ. (He is almost certainly wrong here: the washing of hands before prayer was common among the pagans.) However he classes it as superstition and holds it unworthy of Christians. Similarly he discourages the practice of putting off cloaks before prayer. This he knows is of pagan origin. He admits it is a trifle. And yet he has a practical point in his objection. The highly scrupulous would not presume to pray with their cloaks on, or their hands unwashed; but Christians ought to "pray without ceasing". Furthermore the idea that God would not, or could not, hear your prayers when you had your coat on, was dishonouring to Him. This kind of observation and comment is characteristic. It is valuable not only as revealing the alertness of his mind, but also as affording a vast fund of information on the life of his times.

The reader does not advance far with Tertullian before he finds himself asking why he became a Christian in the first place. While no one can possibly doubt his sincerity which is everywhere manifest, there is little sign of anything resembling an evangelical experience. He knows the faith, and knows it extremely well; he accepts the Gospel and that with deep conviction; yet nowhere do we hear him rejoicing in the consciousness of sin forgiven, or expressing mystical devotion to the person of Christ, which was the outstanding feature of the faith of the early Church. There is plenty of evidence of reverence, but little of personal nearness or love. One would not go so far as to assert that they do not exist. Perhaps Tertullian was one of those quite genuine saints who cannot put their deeper feelings into language. Maybe his early Stoic training with its emphasis on the repression of emotion had built up habits of reserve which he could not in later years break down.

It is, however, much more probable in the writer's opinion that what attracted him to the Church was a passion for order and authority. As already mentioned, he had been brought up as a Stoic and in many respects retained Stoic ideas and habits of thought throughout his life. In fact he never really gave up the Stoic philosophy. His basic position in later years is a kind of Christianized Stoicism. One of the chief evidences of this is seen in his teaching on the nature of the soul (De Testimonio Animae and De Anima). The soul contains within itself that which testifies

to divine truth. It witnesses that there is one God and only one; that this one God is good; that He is to be feared because of His wrath against evil-doers; that He blesses and curses. The soul knows its own immortality, and furthermore that the life beyond may be either blessedness or misery. It also has this innate knowledge of the existence of evil spirits. We can hardly resist the conclusion that here is a Christian application of the Stoic doctrine of the divine "ratio" which pervades the universe and is in all human souls. In his interpretation of the Logos also he thinks of Christ more as divine Reason than divine Word.

If we take into consideration the influence of a very thorough legal training upon this Stoic background with its stress upon order and reason, and recognize moreover that these features of his early education confirmed his own natural feelings after orderliness, we have the clue to his dominating motives. He hated disorder and lawlessness and anything likely to conduce to them. There is abundant evidence of the distress he felt over the mental and moral chaos of the Roman world, the rivalries of many different religions, the jarring discords of the various philosophic systems and the moral laxity which was at least encouraged by the lack of religious principle. We may also speculate that his acute observation did not fail to note the early signs of the weakening of the Empire; perhaps he anticipated the judgment of Constantine a century later that the only hope of salvation lay in religious unification. Whether this was so or not it is clear that Tertullian was appalled by the confusion, the low ideals and the hopelessness which characterized much of the life of the Empire. He had a vision of a rational and morally organized world, which blinded him to the real nature and value of diversity, and rendered him incapable of understanding the forces which lie behind it. He turned to Christianity, then, mainly because he saw in it a clarifying intellectual light and a unifying spiritual force, which, he trusted, might prove the salvation of his world. There is good reason to believe that his conversion and joining the Church occurred when he was still a student in Rome. Certainly he became a member of the Roman church, and may have held the office of presbyter there. It is clear that he possessed inside knowledge of what was going on among the high officials. He knew, for instance, how Praxeas the "Patripassian" influenced the bishop, Eleutherus, against the Montanists after a very favourable reception, and was virtually responsible for their expulsion from the church. This was the point of his famous remark that Praxeas had done "two works of the Devil in Rome",—"He expelled the Paraclete, and crucified the Father".

Some exponents of Tertullian's mind and thought are satisfied to explain his attraction to Christianity by a naturally stern and gloomy disposition and a tendency to ascetism. We may admit

that he was deeply impressed by the sufferings and the fortitude of the Christians. He mentions this as a reflection which moved him to investigate the claims of the Christian faith. "Everyone", he says in the Apology, "in the face of such prodigious endurance feels himself struck, as it were, by some compunction, and earnestly longs to discover what lies at the root of this behaviour; as soon as he finds out the truth, he at once accepts it himself". The same reasoning must have led a large proportion of the early converts to their first sympathies with the persecuted sect. But was Tertullian naturally stern and ascetic in disposition? He discloses reluctantly that in his youth he was a frequenter of the public games. Many of his writings moreover, revealing, as they do, a most accurate observation of manners and customs and what Puritans would describe as the 'vanities' of life, give a strong impression of one who had been much at home among them, and even as he renounced them was recalling with some relish the memory of past enjoyments. The writer is not pleading that Tertullian possessed the 'sunny' temperament; rather that he was originally 'a man of the world' with a vital interest in life, and that consequently his severe asceticism of later days represents a real renunciation. That he was naturally serious also may be admitted, but the notion that he was drawn to Christianity because of its asceticism seems very unlikely. It was the courage of the Christians which first attracted his notice. He was a bold, strong man himself, and he admired courage in others. Furthermore we need to keep in mind the whole psychological background of his times. Stern conditions breed stern moods; if they don't, we fail in the test they impose. As bishop and leader of the Christian flock in Carthage Tertullian must have realized that it depended upon him to nerve his people to "endure hardness"; if they were to die heroically they must learn to live on a high level of spiritual discipline and self-mortification. Frequent passages in his ethical tractates show that he has the prospect of martyrdom always in view, and reveal that his main purpose is to prepare his readers for that final ordeal. It is also worth our remembering that the practice of self-denial discovers pleasure (or at least a grim satisfaction) in it; we find plenty of evidence of this frame of mind in Tertullian. In one respect the charge of morbidity may be accepted, and that is in his obsession with sexual restraints, though even here the contemporary situation accounts for a good deal. It was vital in his opinion for Christians to display before a licentious and unbelieving world the power of the Gospel, and that could be most effectively done by showing how it controlled the natural passions. There is no doubt but that he thought Christians were getting lax in their sexual standards. The women were not always behaving with the decorum and modesty of those who had renounced the world. There was a tendency for some of them,

especially the unmarried, to go unveiled. Some were trying to display their feminine attractions, decking themselves out in finery, using cosmetics, wearing ornaments of gold and jewels and dyeing the hair. Tertullian allows that there is a reasonable refinement and cultivation of the person; he deprecates "entire crudity and wildness of appearance", but there are clear limits which must not be overstepped. We learn from him of a custom of dyeing hair a saffron colour, particularly ridiculous, he comments, for dark-skinned, raven-haired southern maidens. (The Roman ladies seem to have anticipated our 'platinum blondes'). But all these tendencies revealed a weakening of standards. He allows marriage to be lawful, (he was married himself). When trouncing Marcion, the Gnostic, who prohibited marriage, he speaks in even more positive terms. In this discussion marriage is good, and blessed of God. His normal attitude however is less glowing. Generally he is found stressing that celibacy is better than marriage and virginity best of all. Furthermore he leaves no doubt of his view that, when faced with a choice between the good, the better and the best, the true Christian is under obligation to choose the best. Well, that seems to bring marriage definitely under condemnation! The question of second marriages after the divorce or death of a partner is a matter of deepest concern with him. Any second marriage is adultery, and a second marriage with a pagan is worse than either fornication or adultery. It is open to question whether there was not some personal consideration behind this extreme concern. He actually wrote a treatise in two books to his wife pleading with her not to contract a second union on his death. He represents these works as a kind of spiritual last will and testament by which he bequeaths her his best counsel for her soul's welfare. We are tempted to ask whether Mrs. Tertullian was by any chance the type of lady likely to raise doubts of this nature. It is a pity that we have no information as to her reaction to her husband's advice. Almost the whole of the first book of the "Ad Uxorem" is devoted to arguments showing why we should not marry at all; the second book deals with the dangers of a second union. It is curious and perhaps significant that in speaking of the reasons why people marry he makes no mention at all of affection or love in the spiritual sense of the term. He refers only to fleshly lust, worldy ambition and the desire for children. One can't help feeling that Tertullian's views on this subject were somewhat jaundiced!

It is a matter of surprise that in his published writings we find few references to ecclesiastical organization. There is nothing anticipating Cyprian's definitions of the authority and unity of the Church. Cyprian, who was a successor of Tertullian in the see of Carthage about thirty years later, had a great admiration for his 'master', and made a practice of reading some portion of his works

daily. He also had a legal training, and clearly inherited something of the spirit of his predecessor. Knowing Tertullian's strong sense of authority, duty and discipline in the life of the Church, it is hard to avoid the conviction that Cyprian is following and working out the ecclesiasticism which was so strong in Tertullian. We could hardly be far wrong in the conjecture that in his own see he would assert the episcopal authority to the fullest extent. We have, of course, to remember that, before Constantine, Christian bishops had no *legal* power, their control was exerted entirely through spiritual means. Perhaps Tertullian's practical sense prevented him from trying to frame a quasi-political constitution without political power. Be this as it may, it is, to say the least, remarkable that he rarely or never discusses authority in the sense of the powers or privileges of church officials. His concern is for the authority of the faith as found in the Scriptures, and epitomized in the Rule of Faith. He abominates heretics, but gives no rules for their correction or discipline. The faithful are advised not to argue with them, and also to deny their right to use the Scriptures, which belong to, and can only be interpreted by, the Church. He is obviously exasperated by the fact that the heretics, particularly the Gnostics, can "wrest the Scriptures" so cleverly and so often confound the faithful. This extreme detestation of heresies probably reflects the disappointment and disillusion he suffered when he discovered that the followers of Christ were not as uniform in their beliefs as he had originally imagined. The conflicting doctrines he found within the Christian pale must have shocked him deeply. Within the Church the intellectual scene was scarcely less confused than that in the pagan world outside. The worst blow however would be the realization that the bishops themselves were far from unanimous in their teaching. Some were strongly Platonic or half Gnostic, while others had come under the influence, as already mentioned, of the Modalists. "Away with all attempts", he exclaims, "to produce a *mottled* Christianity of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic composition! We want no curious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus, no further quest after enjoying the Gospel"!

The fact that Tertullian has so little to say on the subject of organization and discipline and that all his attention is devoted to the doctrine of the Church suggests that the latter is his chief concern. He seems to have felt that the Church's principal need was of sound teaching. And probably he was right. The notion entertained in some quarters that the early church was blessed with unity of faith and doctrine is about as far from the truth as in this lower world the ideal ever is from reality. And this is Tertullian's great distress. Here we should perhaps find the answer to a problem which has embarrassed most of his commentators, namely, why did he become a Montanist. The best that many can say in explan-

ation is that it was a kind of eruption of a volcanic temperament. But the great African bishop was a much steadier and more responsible type than this. Passionate he certainly was, but his cool reason and practical sense kept passion under control. It has been suggested that the fanaticism of the Montanists appealed to a like element in his own nature. This however will hardly satisfy the careful reader of the post-Montanist works, which are often very difficult to distinguish from those of the pre-Montanist period. There is in fact no appreciable difference in their doctrinal position, occasional references to the Paraclete, passages in defence of the Montanists and attacks upon the Catholics being the chief signs of the later work. It is noteworthy that he never adopted the wilder teachings ascribed to the sect. He certainly did not identify Montanus as the Paraclete, though he believed the movement represented a new, and perhaps the supreme, giving of the Spirit. He appears very little, if at all, affected by their expectations of an immediate "second coming", and there is no record of his answering their summons of the saints to Pepuza to meet the Lord. Nevertheless he espoused their cause with his characteristic courage and conviction, even to the extent of withdrawing from the fellowship of the Catholics, in which state of self-excommunication he remained to the end of his days. The instructed Christian of today will feel inclined with justice to class Montanism with the Muggletonians of the 17th century or the Jehovah's Witnesses of the present. Hence the difficulty of conceiving why this man of powerful intelligence, this champion of rationality and orderliness, should identify himself with their movement, and especially after his many bitter attacks upon heretics and schismatics. The present writer believes that the main reason was simply his disgust with other bishops, and particularly with Rome, where successively Eleutherus Victor, Zephyrinus and Callixtus seemed to favour the Modalists. To Tertullian the teachings of Praxeas and his followers were as pernicious as those of Marcion or Valentinus, and to be resisted at all costs. There are passages which reveal how strongly he resented their reception in Rome. Probably he lost hope of the old orthodox churches and their ministry, and turned to the Montanists under the impression that they represented a revival of the authentic Christian faith and spirit. No doubt he admired their courage and their ascetic standards, but there is room for the suspicion that he rejoiced still more over their defiance of bishops whom he regarded as feeble or definitely heretical. If this conjecture is sound, it would explain also, at least to some extent, Tertullian's reticence on ecclesiastical authority and unity. If he doubted the soundness of the bishops and felt that there was fatal weakness in Rome itself, it is not surprising that he hesitated about insisting on their spiritual authority. One of the significant features of this

change however is that fact that, faced with a conflct between the Church and his own judgment, even though it concerned the faith itself, Tertullian did what strong and God-fearing spirits are practically bound to do, he followed his own conscience and judgment. The notion of some kind of infallibility in the Church or the bishops has no place in his thought. He has no doubt but that the leaders of the Church have gone woefully astray, and hesitates neither to say so nor to act upon his conviction.

In certain important respects Tertullian was a precursor of the Puritans. That profound sense of God, of Divine Majesty and Authority, of man's creatureliness and responsibility, and that conception of the worship and obedience of God as our prime duty and the law of our life, which was the distinctive basis of Puritan faith, is seen stronger in Tertullian than in any of the Fathers before Augustine. He sweeps aside with obvious contempt the vague abstract ideas of deity derived from Platonic or Gnostic sources, which had become popular with the Eastern schools. He will not have God removed from the world or lost in the vapours of metaphysical speculation. He insists on the reality of God and His government. Human life is in its inner nature having dealings with Him, or it is nothing. No doubt Stoic influence can be traced here, and also the bent of a legal mind. He believes in a rational and a morally-organized world. A moral organization implies also a legal organization. It involves a Law-giver, law and subjects of law, and furthermore a vindication of law in cases of its infringement. One great reason for his objection to the Gnostics was that they separated God from the creation so far that He was not touched by human sin. A God who could not be touched or injured by man's disobedience was one who would not resent nor punish it. In that case sin could not be "against God." For this lawyer-mind such a conception would not do at all. God must be Head of the moral order; the Judge and Vindicator of His own law.

Likewise his central conception of man is that of subject to the divine law. Hence in his anthropology he altogether rejects theories of sin which whittle away man's responsibility. Here lay another of his quarrels with the Gnostics. By their doctrine evil belonged to and was inherent in matter; in the case of man it was inherent in the flesh. Sin was therefore unavoidable in materially-constituted beings. This doctrine, he saw clearly, takes away from us all responsibility, and particularly it removes guilt. Tertullian was anxious to prove guilt. He could not tolerate a system in which wrong could be done and no one brought to book. The Gnostic world had neither moral coherence nor meaning. Against their determinism or predestination he contended with all the vigour he possessed for human freedom. The seat of sinfulness is not in matter or the flesh, it is in the will. Man sins freely and wilfully.

Because his sin is wilful he is guilty, and as such must suffer the punishment which gives 'satisfaction' to outraged law. The limitations of his thought and outlook are most clearly seen in the fact that in his dogmatics not even the Gospel modifies this Ruler-subject relationship between God and man. The legal principle prevails as much in the New Dispensation as in the Old. Divine Grace is simply the indulgence of God in cancelling past transgressions, and permitting us a new beginning in baptism. After baptism we are once again on legal ground, and all transgression must be fully expiated, either by self-inflicted punishment, stern renunciations and mortifications which avail for venial sins, or in the case of mortal sin by the torments of hell. Grace, he allows, helps the infirmity of the will derived from racial depravity (*vitia ex origine*); but of Grace as God's fatherly care and intimacy, continually forgiving, preserving, instructing and drawing the soul to Himself with everlasting love and patience Tertullian has no conception. Hence, also, he lacks altogether the view of the Christian life as the liberty of the sons of God. We have to recognize that his Roman, Stoic and legal background disabled his imagination, so that such ideas were almost beyond his powers of apprehension. And he was far from being alone among contemporary Christians in this weakness. Second century Christian writings exhibit an almost unbelievable lapse from the intellectual and spiritual levels of the New Testament. In the East they were degraded by adulteration with Platonic philosophy, and in the West they were compromised under the influence of Roman legalism, while almost everywhere an infusion of superstition and pagan magic stained the crystal waters of the Gospel faith.

In Tertullian's thought, however, even faith is viewed as a requirement of law, the *nova lex* instituted by Christ. He realizes it is not easy. We are asked to accept some very difficult propositions; that the Son of God died, for example, and that He rose from the dead. Such things stagger the reason, but what of that? What is faith but the accepting of teachings that seem incredible? The harder they are to believe the more merit in your faith! (He thinks of faith as asceticism of the intellect; it is making yourself believe something which the reason rejects, or an intellectual form of renunciation). And it always acts under authority. What God commands we must believe; not because we judge it to be right and good but simply because God commands. To query the goodness of a divine commandment is impiety. "I hold it audacity to dispute concerning the goodness of a divine precept. For it is not because it is good that we must obey, but because God commands it" . . . "Is it good to repent or not? Why do you ask? God commands"! (*De poenitentia*) The Christian does not seek for truth, he accepts it on authority, the authority being the Scriptures

and the Rule of Faith (probably a Carthaginian version of the Apostles' Creed).

When Authority is silent, Reason comes to her own. If Tertullian revels in laying down the law, even more does he delight in analysing and dissecting current ideas, exposing with unconcealed triumph their fallacies and absurdities. The teaching of Hermogenes that matter is eternal is rejected on the ground that this creats a dualism, which is inherently impossible. So also the Marcionite doctrine that creation is the work of a Demiurge is shown up as nonsense. The world is the creation of God, who made it out of nothing, hence His authority over it. He has a rooted objection to immateriality; the immaterial, he maintains, is not real, in fact it is non-existent. What we call 'spirit' therefore has substance, though of an etherial texture. This is true both of human spirits and of divine. Even God has corporeality; the divine essence is similar to that of fire. This idea is a part of his Stoic inheritance. In the same vigourous way he comes out strongly for a common-sense view of the origin of the soul, repudiating the 'creationist' doctrine that the soul is created separately from the body, being merely joined to it at birth. The Platonists held that the spirits of men belong originally to the eternal world, the present life being only a disciplinary phase of their existence. Tertullian maintains the "traducian" doctrine, that the soul is created with the body, and gives a number of very cogent reasons for this opinion. In this connection his teaching anticipates modern theories of the relation of body and mind. The best example of his rationalism, however, occurs in his forthright criticism of the growing custom of infant-baptism. The contemporary view of baptism as the means by which past sins are washed away, and divine forgiveness mediated, is accepted. This being so, he argues that it is common sense to put it off as late as possible in life, or at least until after marriage! Why waste the efficacy of baptism upon the age of innocence? Granting the premises, the conclusion is irresistible, and many, including the emperor Constantine, followed his advice. They risked of course the danger of sudden death without baptism, which was generally held to mean damnation. And this consideration was mainly responsible for the eventual triumph of early baptism. Incidentally the *De Baptismo* is one of the most interesting and revealing of Tertullian's works.

When it had forgotten and forgiven his aberrations the Catholic Church acclaimed him as one of the greatest of the Fathers, and indeed most of the central features of later Catholicism are developments from his teachings. Patience and charity are qualities of which he knows little and seems to have thought hardly worth cultivating. On the other hand, his earnestness, moral courage, fighting spirit and sheer power of mind are beyond all question admirable.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN GERMANY TODAY

By Gordon K. Hawes, M.A., B.D.

This article is based on reflections following an extensive tour in Germany undertaken under the auspices of the International Congregational Council and the Religious Affairs Branch of the Control Commission in Germany by Dr. John Short, Mrs. Short, Dr. N. J. McLellan and the present writer during the latter half of February 1950. Dr. and Mrs. Short's journeys took them to Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Hanover, Berlin and other places within striking distance of these centres, while Dr. McLellan and I covered the areas centred on Bunde, Dusseldorf, Wuppertal, Emden, Hamburg and Kiel. With the indispensable help of a V.I.P. car, we covered a little short of 2,000 miles and kept over forty appointments in the space of 17 days, visiting Church leaders, pastors and laymen, attending conferences, visiting theological colleges, institutions, welfare centres, refugees' camps, etc., and Dr. and Mrs. Short had no less exacting a programme.

Germany is a land of grim contrasts. Like a rosy apple that is rotten at heart, there is a superficial impression of prosperity and well-being which breaks down almost immediately upon investigation. Our experience of Hamburg will illustrate the point. The centre of Hamburg has been tidied up and almost restored. The shops are filled with most attractive wares, such as we long to see in this country, and to see the lights of the city across the Alster at night is worth a long journey. They are the talk of Western Germany, and put Piccadilly Circus into the shade. The food in the hotels is plentiful and varied, and there seem to be enough wealthy people to enjoy what is provided in such places. The same is true of most of the large cities in Germany. However, within a few minutes' walk of this blazing fairyland one is surrounded by vast areas of devastation, and here and there amidst the rubble one may discern lights coming from below street level. Here whole families are huddled together in single cellar-compartments sustaining as best they may their miserable existence. They say there is no more rationing in Germany. That means that there are no more ration books. Rationing, however, still exists, and that of the worst kind—rationing by price. And there are no food subsidies. This would be enough to restrict over-indulgence in this country, but in Germany today the standard of wages for those in work is much

lower than here, and for those out of work—a mighty army—there is only a miserable pittance. An unemployed man will get something under £5 per month to keep himself and his family, and there are two million unemployed in Western Germany. Added to this is the truly colossal problem of the refugees, with which the readers of this journal are not unacquainted. Among a population about equal to that of the United Kingdom there are more than eight million refugees of one sort and another, and the conditions under which they are living defy description. Words can record the facts but they cannot convey the experience of such misery. The refugee camps consist mostly of old Army huts, some Nissen huts, others of the rectangular type. In some of the camps one hut provides the accommodation for fifty families, each herded into what is little more than a cubicle—and that is "home"! Others find refuge in school halls, where old curtains, rags, and even brown paper suffice to divide one family from the next. In such circumstances it is no wonder that vice, immorality and crime flourish, that incest is not uncommon, and that political extremism finds a happy hunting ground. It is not my intention to dwell upon the refugee problem, though one is tempted to do so, for the facts cannot be too widely known, and the conscience of men must be quickened; but the existence of the problem provides the background against which all else in Germany must be seen in perspective.

The amazing thing in such circumstances is that the prevailing impression is not one of hopelessness, but of quiet determination to find a way through all their distresses. There are plenty, of course, who, under the harrow, are overwhelmed by the grim conditions in which they must eke out an existence, but there is not the feeling of frustration among the leaders which the present writer found in the Germany of 1932. And this is almost entirely due to the very real sense of Christian hope born under the significant sign of the Cross. Most of the Christian leaders in Germany today have themselves come out of great tribulation and have tested their faith in the most unpromising surroundings. For the greater part of twenty years they have been "prisoners of hope", and they know that God has not cast off His people. There are many tangible symbols of this hope, but two will suffice in the way of illustration along the practical line of the rehabilitation of Christian communities.

Near to Frankfurt we had the opportunity of visiting Heilsberg, 'The City under the Cross'. Here on a slight eminence stands a large wooden Cross, under whose shadow the former site of a military camp has been transformed into a small Christian township. It owes its existence to the vision of Dr. Fricke, who, while he was languishing in a concentration camp, conceived the idea of Christian communities of 1,000 souls or more as a partial solution of

the problem of the homeless and the refugees. Those who were willing to enter into the spirit of rebuilding community on the lines of Christian faith converted with their own hands the rubble of bombed Frankfurt into buildings in which some seventy or eighty families have now found homes. A community centre, shops and facilities for learning trades of various kinds make the community largely self-supporting and give a sense of unity to those who have thus come together. A similar venture is being carried out at Espel Camp in Westphalia. Here, in the midst of a forest, was a vast munitions factory and filling sheds, constructed of single-storied concrete buildings covering an area of some 300 hectares. It was scheduled for demolition after the war and several of its buildings have been blown up. The rest, however, has been saved, through the intervention of the Land Commissioner, General Bishop, with the active support of the Religious Affairs Branch of the C.C.G., and has been converted into a community of some 1,500 souls organized somewhat on the same lines as Heilsberg. There are special houses for children, young people, the aged and the dispossessed. Young men who have escaped across the frontier of the Eastern Zone are rehabilitated, provided with fresh identity cards and helped to start a new life. They are particularly proud of a group of children who were rounded up almost like cattle from the forests round the devastated town of Bromberg in Poland, orphans of the massacre of "Black Sunday" in 1945. These they have taught the rudiments of civilization and given them back their humanity. Under the guidance of Dr. Didlaukies many voluntary workers have given their lives to the service of those in Espel. Verily swords are being beaten into ploughshares, and the instruments of war are being converted to the service of Christ.

These ventures are, of course, only touching the fringe of the problem. Meanwhile, in the less pretentious squalor of the refugee camps elsewhere, welfare work is being organized by the Hilfswerk (the Welfare organization of the Protestant Churches), food and clothing are being distributed and schemes of rehousing prosecuted almost entirely under the impulse of Christian compulsion. Since the war, we were assured, some 80 per cent of all the welfare work has been carried on by the Churches, with generous help from the State in the form of money and with the continuous supply of material and personal support from abroad, in which Britain and America have an honourable share. The evidence of Christian unity across all frontiers is patent in every corner of Germany, and there is no surer way of demonstrating the basis of true Christian brotherhood than this timely help which has been so abundantly poured out and so gratefully received by those in need.

But charity is not enough. Where, through dedicated lives and Christian sympathy, the hand of Christ is laid upon this "open

sore'' the healing process operates and love does its work; but the solution of this problem lies deeper, and there are other problems which face Germany and must be solved before her peace, and that of Europe and the world, can be attained. She is hungry for the Word of God.

Of this overriding need the Churches are acutely aware, and in the light of it they are conscious of their own inadequacy, which drives them to repentance and the searching of their own hearts. More than once it was expressed to us that the great need of the Church in Germany is renewal rather than restoration. With the exception of a small ''remnant'' the Church failed to stem the tide of the Nazi paganism; it must not again fail in the equally critical times which are upon Germany and the world today.

There are those who believe they can discern the voice of prophecy in the land, and their hearts and consciences are being stirred by the words of Pastor Martin Niemöller. Some are inclined to resent his reading of the signs of the times, others think he has been tactless and undiplomatic, while still others have grossly distorted the meaning of his words; but all agree that he is raising the important issues and asking the relevant questions, even if he proceeds to give the wrong answers! Niemöller has made three judgments in particular which have roused a great deal of controversy and misunderstanding, but which have engendered thought at the right level of realism. He has called for a nation-wide movement of National Penitence. Germany has done great wrong, through which the whole world has been brought down into the abyss. There can be no renewal of health in Germany until the people are prepared to confess their peculiar sins before God. This judgment has been taken by some to invite the humiliation of Germany in the eyes of America, Britain, France and, worst of all, Russia. But his plea implies no such political connotation. Repentance must be before God, and in this process we could all profitably join, for, as nations as well as individuals, ''we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God''. Secondly, Niemöller has made the strongest possible plea for the unity of Germany. So long as the Iron Curtain divides the East from the West, so long will the revival of the true Germany be rendered impossible. In advocating this he has put it that this must be achieved ''at all costs'', and hinted that if this should involve Germany's domination for a time by Russia, that might be the price she must pay and the Cross she must bear for her sins. This has been seized upon, not unnaturally, and distorted into the suggestion that he is advocating the control of Germany by Russia. The third point concerns his suggestion that the unity of Germany might be achieved by the appointment of a governmental instrument responsible to the United Nations, and that such occupation forces as may be deemed neces-

sary should be furnished from a neutral country such as Sweden. There is an inclination for some to laugh the suggestion out of court as fantastic, or to regard it as a slight upon the sovereignty of the German nation. Those who regard Niemöller as the modern prophet of Germany are ready to concede that he might sometimes have chosen his words more happily, that he has laid himself open to misunderstanding, or even that he has said some impracticable things; but they go on to ask, "What prophet ever stopped to choose his words? What prophet was not subject to misunderstanding?" It is sufficient to say that he has turned the attention of his fellow-countrymen to the real problems which must be faced.

Another voice which maintains its habit of disturbing the minds of men and of causing a fluttering in the dovecotes of theological discussion is that of the redoubtable Karl Barth. He has recently said that the survival of the Protestant Church in Germany depends on its receiving a "strong dose of Congregationalism". In saying this there is no doubt that Barth has discerned the spirit behind a certain restlessness in both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. There is a straining after something which will give a new virility to the "gathered congregation" and offset the dilution of the Churches' witness through the parish system which is based on the payment of Church taxes. A word of explanation is not out of place. Everyone in Germany is required to pay a Church tax, out of which the salaries of the ministers of the established Churches are paid. It is possible for anyone who so wishes to "contract out" of this payment, but very few people take advantage of this provision, except for the Roman Catholics and the Free Church people. Only a small minority of the taxpayers are active members of the Church, but they can all call on the Church for its services. This has its advantages, but also its very grave disadvantages. There is a small number who are strongly against the system of Church taxes, but even among the majority who accept the system there is a feeling that the strength of the Church needs to be more concentrated, and in particular that the place of the laymen should be more thoroughly thought out. This is especially so in the north of the country, and particularly in Schleswig-Holstein, where a vigorous Laymen's Movement has arisen since the war. Their aim, as expressed to me by Felix Miller, one of the moving spirits behind the movement, is to find a middle way between the ethos of the Eastern Orthodox "pietism" and the Anglo-American "humanitarianism". They are convinced that the Word of God must be made alive in theologically conscious Christian action. One of the small group we met was Frau Bonhoffer, a refugee living with her three sons in one room in a refugee camp near Plön, and she insisted that what the refugees needed, even more than material help, was to recover a sense of purpose. The fact that they are persons, and not things,

means that they have something to give as well as to receive. They have a contribution to make to the needs of the times, which no one else can make, for they stand at the place where faith is tested and proved.

The Religious Affairs Branch of the Control Commission has done much to help and encourage the Churches in their various tasks, and to facilitate exchange visits between the German and British Churches at all levels (I speak of the British Zone, where we travelled; but I understand it is also true of the American). In June, this branch of the C.C. comes to an end; but it is of the utmost importance that the contacts between the Churches should be strengthened rather than otherwise. It is important to recall that the established Churches in Germany, and especially the Reformed Churches, are heirs of the Reformation, and have close affinities, historical as well as theological, with the Free Churches in Britain, and in particular with the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. This is not to overlook the strong bonds of fellowship that have been forged since the war between the Anglican Church and the Germans, to which they pay grateful testimony; but it does mean that we have it laid upon us to strengthen the natural links that exist between our respective traditions. Moreover, we enjoy intercommunion, which the Anglicans do not. As a result of our visit and that of the Moderator of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, steps are being taken to secure a closer liaison between our Churches. I hope that individual Churches will keep themselves informed of what is going on, and where possible make contacts with German congregations. In some places it was made clear that fellowship between the united Churches of towns and cities of comparable size might be of mutual advantage, and might be made effective by the exchange of ministers.

The important thing to realize is that Germany is a key-point in the structure of peace, and therefore a key-point in the strategy of evangelization. The problems which the German Churches are facing are not just German problems, but world problems. They cannot even be solved in Germany alone—especially the refugee problem—but must be solved at a world level.

This is the challenge of Germany. Not a challenge to sentiment, nor even to Christian charity; but a challenge to the whole Church of Christ. Here is the issue joined, and all those who belong to Christ must pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

THEN AND NOW IN CHINA

By Alexander Baxter

It was in 1907 that I first landed in the ancient city of Canton. The old legend has it that in the dim and distant past five genii came riding through the air on five rams and carrying with them the five kinds of grain that are characteristic of China. Coming over the favoured spot which is now Canton, they decided to make it prosperous and so, descending, they planted the five kinds of grain. Thus began, we are told, the history of the ancient "City of Rams", the capital city of the province which has the reputation of being the best province to eat in in China. The old legend of the "planting" of Canton calls to mind the old Chinese saying, "If you are working for ten years, plant trees; but if you are working for a hundred years, plant men". And all this connects in my memory with the fact that I happened to arrive in Canton exactly 100 years after Morrison had landed in the same city.

My first impression on seeing this great sprawling city was of things ancient and unchanging. I felt I must be seeing what Morrison saw a century ago. Here was the same mass of low houses, similar in style and structure, with only here and there a higher building—a pawnshop, or a more modern department store. The buildings were so closely packed together that it looked from a distance as if one could walk from roof to roof. I remember my question to a missionary colleague who first led me from the wharf into the mass of alley-ways, 'When do we come to the streets?' and his reply, 'You are in them'. With scarcely any street wider than ten feet, and many of them with stalls on both sides and a kind of roof over the top to keep out the sun, no wheeled traffic was possible, not even a wheelbarrow. Human shoulders carried everything from goods to people in sedan chairs, and old ladies with bound feet rode pick-a-back on stalwart women servants. One had to learn to walk circumspectly on the uneven stone slabs that paved the streets. Unsavoury splashes from the drains below made white clothing an abiding despair and a nose a temporary misfortune. Perhaps the first word Morrison heard was the word that introduced me to this human ant-hill, 'fai-ti' ('hurry up'), and in the bits of Canton he was able to visit he may have speculated, as I did, as to the real relation between noise and accomplishment.

But that there were things new as well as things old in Canton soon became evident. I am quite sure Morrison never had a good-natured policeman to lead him home to the 'Factories' as I had to

lead me to the L.M.S. compound when I got lost—as I often did. In 1907 the old streets were lit with electricity, running water was in process of being installed, and many were beginning to realize that springs and cushions were really more comfortable than wooden stools and bed-boards. One of the biggest landscape changes was the conversion of the old muddy bank of the river into a 'Bund' planted with trees, and the erection on the river front of modern department stores and hotels where foreign food and foreign goods of many kinds could be procured, ranging from furniture to cosmetics and "Pink Pills".

But a deeper change was also beginning. The impact of the West up to the end of the century had humbled China's ancient pride and made her teachable. The humiliating aftermath of the Boxer uprising had made her afraid. The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 had awakened new thoughts and possibilities, but to all these were now being added anger and desperation as China saw her territory being dominated by foreign Powers who were even fighting out their quarrels on her soil. As I began to understand the language of the people around me, I soon found there was but one great question seething in their minds, 'How can we save China?' and eyes were being turned to a group of reformers headed by Sun Yat Sen who were preaching a national revolution as China's only hope. That I had arrived in old China was only a surface impression; as a matter of fact I had come into the centre of a movement which was beginning to shape a new China, and within four years China staged her great Revolution.

But there was something else to be seen in 1907 in the city of Canton—it was the Christian Church. "If you are working for 100 years, plant men". Robert Morrison knew he was beginning a long task when he set out to plant new men in China, and so did the London Missionary Society. The story of these far off days does not need to be told again. The fact that Morrison worked seven years before his first convert was baptized, and that at the end of 20 years he could speak of only some ten converts, is some indication of the difficulty of his task. I remembered after arriving in Canton how Morrison was reported to have said that if in 100 years there should be 1,000 Christians in the whole of China it would be a miracle. One knew, of course, that much more than that miracle had happened in the intervening years, and that the work of 'planting men' had extended all over China. In Canton itself, I soon found, the 'miracle' number had been exceeded, and on my first Sunday I found myself in a Christian church which had its own pastor and office-bearers, was meeting in its own building, and was self-supporting. In my hands was a Chinese translation of the Bible which more educated members loved to read for the beauty of its language as well as for the teaching it contained, and a hymn book

which, though less worthy in Chinese style, was obviously appealing to the heart in its sentiments and tunes. This church was only one of many affiliated to the work of a number of missions and which were also self-supporting. Shortly before I arrived, there had been completed and opened a fine modern building on the new Bund facing the river—The Morrison Memorial Y.M.C.A.—China's tribute to the pioneer. I brought out with me a large framed copy of the familiar painting of Morrison with his Chinese helpers working at the translation of the Bible, a gift from the L.M.S. to the memorial building. That picture looked down (as it still does) on a hive of Christian activity carried on day by day among the youth of Canton. I was soon to see less developed churches in country districts and places where the earlier 'planting' seemed almost to have withered away, but the Christian Church was in the country districts too, and I cannot forget that it was in the country I was shown the martyrs' tree. The work which Morrison started, however, was wider than the actual churches. There were the Christian schools where boys and girls were being 'planted' into newness of life and service, many of them in the churches, and as teachers, nurses and doctors. China's new system of education was only in its beginnings, but the fact that it was new owed not a little to the Christian schools which had shown the way and had opened the gates of knowledge and service to the Chinese girl. Christian hospitals and medical training centres were slowly finding their way into the confidence of the people because of the results they showed, but the spirit that dominated their work was already understood and was winning the hearts of the people. Across the river there stood two Christian institutions which, perhaps more than any others, preached to the people the compassion of Christ. They were the School for the Blind, and the first institution I know of in China for caring for the insane. As the process of language study advanced in my early years in China, I often asked myself the question as to how far the Christian message had really spoken to the heart of the Chinese people, and as conversation with individual Christians became possible, I tried to find out. Numbers are not enough. In some of the more outstanding leaders connected with the L.M.S. churches it was not difficult to see the 'new man'. As an instance, I think of the pastor of the main L.M.S. Church of those days. He was being given the name 'Prince of Preachers' in Canton. Outlines of his sermons were being printed week by week and circulated in the Christian community. This man had belonged to an official family with all the advantages of culture and position which belonged to a Chinese gentleman. Like many others of his class, however, he became an opium addict. He heard the Christian message first through the open door of a preaching hall. The result was that by

the grace of God he fought and conquered the opium habit, set aside his scholarly ambitions, and became a Christian preacher in a country town at a salary, to begin with, of about £1 a month. This man lived to make his mark on the Christian Church of South China, and especially among young men and women.

Again, among the deacons of the same Church was another outstanding Chinese scholar who in younger life had won the greatly coveted classical degrees and become known as a keen reformer. He was won for Christ through personal contact with individual Christians, Chinese and missionary, and found in his new faith an answer to his own and his country's need. He dedicated his life to Christian education and, while teaching Chinese, was for a time a pupil in the classes where Western subjects were taught. Government honours and official appointments were offered to him in later life, and he was Minister of Education for a time in South China, but his strength and enthusiasm were given always to Christian education. His grave lies in the middle of the grounds of a Christian University in Canton which he, more than any other individual, created and developed, and on which he has left the stamp of his personality and ideals. To know him intimately was my privilege in later years as a staff member of the University he loved, and the memory remains an inspiration. Others come to mind, but space forbids their mention, and some of them were very humble folk. Not all the members of our churches could reveal so clearly the fruits of the Spirit, but at least some of the marks of the 'new man' were on their lives. It is significant, I think, that when a widespread inquiry was made in those days among Church members as to how they had been led to become followers of Christ, the great majority stated that it had been through the lives and witness of individual Christians they had come to know. Allowing for all the imperfections and weaknesses of the Christian community which, off and on for 100 years, the L.M.S. had been trying to 'plant' in China, I do not think J. C. Harris claimed too much when he wrote in that fine book, *Couriers of Christ,* "If, during the whole of its existence, the L.M.S. had done nothing else than to discover and despatch Morrison to China, it would have more than justified itself at the bar of history".

The period from 'then' to 'now' will always stand out as the period of China's revolution when the old paternal monarchy passed into a modern republic. It is safe to say, I think, that no comparable period in the long history of China has seen so many changes and ups and downs. In 1911 the explosion of a bomb in Hankow started a struggle which goes on still. We may call it the violent awakening of China, and a good deal of violence and consequent suffering has continued ever since. Important advances have been made, but there have been many setbacks and disappointments.

The rising tide of nationalism has carried China forward towards full independence and a recognized place in international society, but it has also carried with it not a few of China's ancient ills and some of the major ills which, in the same period, have afflicted most Western nations and afflict them still.

If it be too much to say, as a prominent Chinese official did say, that the revolution in China began on the day Robert Morrison began to translate the Bible, it is at least true that even political liberty in China found an inspiration in Christianity. It is worth noting that the man who, more than any other individual, created the Revolution, carried it through, and in his 'Will' laid down the pattern for its future guidance, drew much of his inspiration from a Christian background, and from at least a partial Christian faith. I have often heard Sun Yat Sen speak, and I have conversed with him in my own home. On most occasions I was made conscious of Christian principles guiding his appeals and even his criticism of so-called Christian nations in their attitude towards the aspirations of the new Republic. In those days not many Chinese Christians belonged to the revolutionary party, but as a body they were strongly on the side of reform and democratic progress. They recognized the necessity of the revolution, and shared the view that unequal treaties with western Powers must be swept away if China was to be saved. Though invited to do so then and since, the churches refused to identify themselves or the Christian movement with any political party or programme. Their strength and leadership were given (and are still being given) to moral and social reforms such as the suppression of opium, of licensed gambling and prostitution, to the cure of illiteracy, to the uplift of women, and to the care of the sick and the afflicted. And above and through all they placed first the task of 'saving' China by the christianizing of individual lives, of home life and of society. It is true there were things happening in the churches sometimes in those days which were no doubt signs of the times rather than fruits of the Spirit. Churches and Christians were sometimes prone to show independence in the spirit of the Revolution rather than in the spirit of the Gospel, and these tendencies created some stress and strain between Chinese and missionary workers. The activist tendency of the Chinese in matters of religion found encouragement towards a social gospel in the changing conditions of those days when there remained much confidence in the powers of the natural man. There were times also when some of us would have welcomed a stronger Christian stand on matters of national policy such as the banning for a time of the teaching of the Chinese classics in schools, the prohibition of religious instruction in school hours in Christian schools, and the law calling on religious organizations and churches to be registered as 'social' bodies. None the less, I look back on the years between

1911 and 1925 as fruitful years for the planting of men, and I recall with gratitude to God the crusades in which I had a share along with Christian students, other missionaries and members of the churches, and the 'Harvest Days' (as we called them) when eager young lives were dedicated to Christ and His service. They were also days of great leadership in the Christian Church, and evangelistic outreach was by no means neglected. The other day I came across a report of a conversation Dr. John Mott had with that fine Christian leader, Dr. C. Y. Cheng, which illustrates this point. "Would it not be a great thing", said Dr. Cheng, "for all of us Christians in China to unite, and go out and double the number of Protestant Church Christians within the next five years?" Dr. Mott asked, "How many are there now?" "Four hundred and thirty-five thousand", was the answer. "Well", said Dr. Mott, "it has taken over a hundred years to build in China a Church of these dimensions, and do you now suggest the practicability of doubling that number in five years?" Dr. Mott said he would never forget the answer: "Why not?" The Five Year Movement with its prayer, "Lord, revive Thy Church beginning with me", was part of the answer the Church made to this challenge during these troubled years, and the Church in China was certainly revived. In a more spectacular way the challenge to Church unity was answered. There came into being the Church of Christ in China, and in that Church today the work of fourteen missionary societies is merged, including the L.M.S. Not only so, but in three mission fields in the far west and south-west of China this Church is reaching out to the unevangelized. This period has also seen the formation of the National Christian Council of China which is the voice of the Christian movement as a whole, and seeks to promote, inform and inspire all branches of Mission and Church enterprise. The period has also seen notable steps forward in union evangelism, union middle schools, colleges, universities, medical schools, hospitals, theological colleges, and in the training of nurses and teachers. No doubt union developments have been stimulated by the growth of nationalism and the unification of China, but they also express an urging of the Spirit of God among the churches and indicate a deepening of the roots of Christianity in Chinese soil. To use Dr. Mott's words—what was 'foreign and formal' has grown 'native and natural'. As China has been making her own what the West has taught her, so she is making her own the gift of the Gospel which missionaries from the West have brought to her. The whole missionary movement in China has passed from being 'Mission centred' to being 'Church centred', and today the remaining problem of complete Chinese control and ownership, not only of churches but of Christian institutions and the property concerned, is being faced. Political pressure may become an important factor in this problem—for it is a problem in the light of recent

political developments. A solution has to be sought that will both preserve the Christian purpose of what has been Mission property, and at the same time call forth in the minds and hearts of the Christian community a sense of the solemn challenge that will be given to them.

If I were to select the movement which next to union has been characteristic of this period, I would choose the growing place and influence of Chinese women in all branches of Christian work and witness. That Christian missions were pioneers in the education of girls in China is one of their greatest achievements. They have also done much to 'plant' women into the life and service of the new China. How splendidly, on the whole, girls and women have responded to the new opportunities set before them in and through the Christian movement! Bound feet as a mark of gentle upbringing has gone for ever, and China's women are now more than standing on their own feet. A new thing has come to China—the Christian home in which boys and girls grow up together in equality and opportunity. The natural fondness of the Chinese for children is made a very beautiful thing in Christian homes where love never fails. I call to mind in my early days the first Sunday in church after the partition which previously divided male and female had been removed. Henceforth it was to be a congregation of families, and it was interesting to note the somewhat shy happiness which the change brought. I saw a similar shy pleasure that day when for the first time young men and women sat together in the College classroom, and I saw the first move towards replacing the shyness by a natural and healthy comradeship one day when rain fell and the youths got wet fetching umbrellas from their dormitories to keep the girls dry. For a number of years the National Christian Council of China has had a department called 'Christianizing the Home' and, working through the churches, it has done a remarkable work in pointing the way to making every aspect of home life efficiently Christian. Women's magazines are issued by the Christian Literature Society, and children's papers and books have now become a feature, not only in Christian circles, but in China generally. There was a time when, in order to save our College men students from being betrothed by their parents to ignorant and unsuitable Chinese girls, we passed a rule that any male student becoming married during his College course would have to pay double tuition fees. That rule is no longer necessary. In the churches, as assistants to the pastors, as deacons, as teachers in the Sunday Schools, and as welfare workers, Christian Chinese women are playing a notable part. In larger centres at least men nurses for men patients have been superseded by women nurses for all. Women professors, doctors, teachers, and even politicians are exercising a growing influence on the life of the country, and

especially on the younger generation. Love marriages among the more educated have come to stay, and are slowly spreading to the other classes, and in Christian homes the children are a pride and joy.

I am conscious that much I have written belongs rather to the high lights of the situation. There is, of course, another side, and there are weaknesses in all departments of our Christian witness in China which give plenty of cause for concern. My missionary life in China has centred in what are perhaps the two most progressive cities—Canton and Shanghai—and for the past fifteen years my chief contacts have been with the more central organizations of the churches, and with their leaders. In these days of fears and forebodings and disappointments, however, I believe there is value in lifting our eyes to the hills which stand out in the wide landscape of missionary endeavour, and to take long views.

I began by speaking of the long task of 'planting men' in China. It is a long task. As compared with landscape changes—planting trees—it may appear in these days that little decisively Christian has been accomplished. We do not so easily see new men who are growing in grace and bearing the fruits of the Spirit. I hope that what I have tried to say will at least serve to reveal more clearly that our own Society, with others, in this long task has truly planted and watered in China, and that God has given the increase. The 'then' and 'now' of my missionary service, at any rate, convinces me that the labour has not been in vain, that the Gospel has spoken to the heart of China's need and aspiration, and that the Chinese Church has been planted to grow and bear fruit. The task, however, is still for us a missionary one and calls us to toil on with our Chinese fellow-Christians as labourers together with God, in facing the severest crisis the Church has so far had to face. Chinese Christians have asked for our fellowship and support, and are counting on us to stand with them and help them in these dark days.

There is no Society more highly honoured among the Christian leaders in China than the L.M.S. They do not quite know why we are called 'London', but they do know that as a Society we have stood for 'planting men' and encouraging them to stand on their own feet to hear and obey what the Lord is saying to them. As pioneers in the spirit of independence and union, as colleagues who think of the things of the Chinese Church more than of the things of any particular denomination, L.M.S. missionaries in the past have played their part. In these critical days for the L.M.S. as well as for China that part must still be played, and played both at home and in China with a faith and devotion which believe that what has been God given and God inspired, will also be at last God crowned.

THE FULLNESS OF OUR WORSHIP

By Ll. R. Ellis, M.A.

Amid the general convulsion of our time our religious world is being shaken. It behoves us, therefore, to look to our foundations and to verify what is our essential nature. Is it such as to be capable of withstanding the shakings of time and the shocks of circumstance? Is it worth maintaining in our modern world?

We can answer these questions in the affirmative because we hold that the characteristic of the Congregational form of the Christian faith is one that qualifies it for a useful, even essential, life in our world today. The characteristic is that Congregationalism understands Christianity to be a religion which is *open at both ends*. We maintain that all our members are, or can be, Priests unto God. We recognize no private nor 'authorized' channels of inspiration and grace. Ours is a public religion, open to all, in which the humblest workman as well as the greatest ecclesiastic or noblest saint may enter into the Holy of Holies. It is not that we do not believe in leaders, in prophets, saints, and apostles. We do. But when we remember Amos and St. Paul, we refuse to recognize any "Fuehrer-Princip", or to confine leadership and prophecy to any hierarchy or closed order. God calls men into His service as He wants them, a Gideon here, an Othniel there. God can raise up even out of these stones sons unto Abraham. Because a man is called to be the leader in one enterprise, it by no means follows that he is the best man to lead another enterprise. On the contrary, his very success in the first case may tend to harden him in his methods and so render him less open of access to the Holy Spirit who alone can assure his successful leading of the next venture. God has a way of calling new men to new tasks. Joshua succeeds Moses, for the man who planned and carried out the Exodus was not the man to conquer Canaan. We recognize fully that we must have officers, permanent leaders, to carry on the daily life and work of a religious denomination, and to those leaders we give all honour and reverence. They are the finest men we have and we naturally turn to them, not only for guidance in the ordinary matters of our religious life, but also in great crises of our faith when we have need of new vision and revelation. Yet, when that is said, we must also say that it is an essential part of our faith that it is yet possible that the vision and the call may come to someone else, someone outside the recognized ranks. God may raise up a new man to lead us into the Promised Land. We must never allow ourselves to be blind to the heavenly vision, wherever it may appear. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth.

We must never be numbered among those who cry, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" However great our reverence for Moses, we must be ready to serve Joshua. However great our loyalty to John the Baptist, we must be willing to leave him when Christ calls "Follow Me".

For God is not limited to any formal ways of revealing Himself to man. It is our human weakness which makes us wish to know beforehand where we may look for guidance and makes us postulate "authorities" in that region of the spirit where there are no authorities, but only humble recipients of God's revelation and grace, whom God chooses in His own divine and absolute freedom.

Our religion is open also in the sense that we do not recognize any final fixed channels of revelation. We do, of course, recognize the Prophets and Apostles and, above all, that God hath spoken to us in His Son, Jesus Christ. Yet, for us, the contents of such revelations are not limiting in their function, but rather maieutic. They bring to birth the new man in Christ. "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God". Christ Himself said that the Spirit should lead His disciples beyond His own teaching into "all truth". We have earned from the Old Testament that the whole earth is full of God's glory. We have learned from our Lord Himself that the common things of nature and human life "sing their great Creator's praise". We hold also with St. Paul that the world is full of voices and that "none of them is without significance". We feel that it is our task to stand prophet-wise on the watch-tower to look over the world and over history, to contemplate and consider all space and time, so far as we are able, and to wait and see what the Lord will speak to us. It yet remains true that while the whole earth is full of God's glory, the Christian has seen the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; that, while the world is full of significant voices some voices are more significant than others, and the most significant of them all is that of Jesus Christ. It is this which determines our attitude to the Gospels and to the Bible generally as the Word of God. We hold that because the Word of God comes to us in the Bible and supremely in Jesus Christ, it is not therefore limited to these. God also speaks to us in life and experience. Yet the Bible sets for us the standard by which we judge all things. We try the spirits whether they be of God, and the Bible is our criterion. Natural life has no power of self-judgment, no ultimate value criterion—but the spiritual man judgeth all things.

In the recent past, men, children of their age, even religious men, were so impressed by the successes gained by physical science that they insensibly came to regard science as the judge of all things, even of religion, and they began to whittle down their religion to fit it into the scientific picture. They used science to judge the Bible. Our own age has become aware of the limitations of science and its

method. The scientists have themselves told us of these limitations —and we have now ceased to judge the Bible by science, and have begun again to judge all things by the revelation of religion and the Bible. We have learned that truth may be discovered not only by the abstract intellectual way of the Greeks, but by the concrete personal way of the Hebrews. Not, of course, that we pass judgment on the facts which the scientist uncovers, nor on the laws he formulates. In its own sphere we recognize the autonomy of science. The day is long past when the theologian will lay down what the scientist shall or shall not discover or pronounce about the natural world, even including the natural mind of man. But we do claim to judge science in respect of value. Whether it be a hydrogen bomb, or a new medicine, or a new social programme, it and its use come under the judgment of religion—the religion of the Bible—and by its light we pronounce whether the new discovery be good or evil. There exists no other valid sort of judgment. God is the Supreme Judge, and it is by the revelation of God's Mind, given us in the Bible and supremely in Jesus Christ, that we judge the things of man and his world. Our fathers mistakenly turned away from the Light of the world. They went into the darkness of mundane affairs hoping to find a light there. We too go into the darkness of the world, but we take the Light of the world with us, and in its light we see light. Man has a capacity for valuation as well as for observation. He has insight or intuition as well as ratiocination. He can leap as well as walk. He has his great spiritual moments—

> Moments when he sees he cannot die
> And knows himself no vision to himself
> Nor that One a vision Who rose again.

Such moments are landmarks in life and history; they set the tone and standard of living for individuals and communities. Yet God speaks in many ways, and we recognize that history, science, the daily life of men in society and industry, are all used by Him for the carrying out of His infinite purpose, and become revealers of His nature and will.

The Congregationalist is open to these and to what they have to say. God is given to us in revelation, but what God is and does we learn by experience and reason. As the Hebrew prophets learned of God through history, we learn of God both through history and through science, through art, sociology, economics, and any other activity which engages the mind and spirit of man. We welcome knowledge and truth from whatever quarter. As our poets have found that there are no poetical subjects but only poetical ways of treating any subject, so we have learned that there are no specifically religious subjects, but only religious ways of treating any subject.

It might be said that the once famous "nonconformist conscience" withered away because, forgetting this, it remained too

narrow. It judged men's personal actions but rarely judged their collective social attitudes. It condemned a man for getting drunk, but rarely condemned the building of industrial towns from whose drab misery the shortest way of escape was through the door of a public house. It condemned immorality, but not the social and economic conditions conducive to it. It learned much from the moralist, but little from the economist. It paid no heed, for instance, to Karl Marx. When we consider what the Welfare State means in our own day, we wonder why the nonconformist conscience did not produce such a State fifty years ago. Because of its failure, it died. Today we need a new nonconformist conscience, fed and developed on all the knowledge and truth that is available, ready to listen to every prophetic voice, whether it sound from a sacred grove or from a laboratory or factory. We can place no limitations on our receptiveness. The Spirit must have open access to us.

Here, surely, lies the function of the Church. It is the receiving station for all revelations of God. What we receive we lay before the Lord for His judgment and for our inspiration and guidance. We meet as a Christian community in the presence of our Lord to hear His word and share His love, and there He speaks to us, opening to us the scriptures, both those in the book we call the Bible and those in the book of nature and life. Then we leave the Church, carrying His Spirit and Presence with us, to do His will in the world.

The full Christian life, and the full Christian worship, contain these three phases. Open access in reception; the receiving, worshipping soul in the sanctuary; the open outlet or expression in obedient action and service. For just as there are no specifically religious subjects, so there are no specifically religious duties. We can place no limitation on our expression of Christ's spirit in our lives. What do ye more than others? All duties, all obligations, all relationships are sacred; all must express our faith, hope and love. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of these, ye have done it unto Me". The Christian life is constricted neither at the receiving end nor at the giving end. It is wide open at both ends. We receive all that the universe can give us in order that we may give all back to the world in love and service. That is the fullness of our worship. Any worship that is merely temple worship—that does not begin with the open access and end with the open outlet—is less than Christian. The pagan offers his sacrifice in the temple with elaborate ceremonial. It is a recognition of God. It engages the worshipper's thought and feeling. It is often very fine and beautiful. But it issues in no action, no service, no activity of love. It is ritual. It may be art. But it is not life. That is why the Hebrew prophets thundered against it as a substitute for true religion. "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice".

Christianity abolished the ritual sacrifice. Christ died for us once and for all. He was the final and all-sufficient Sacrifice. Hence Christianity knows of no real altar. The New Testament knows of no altar in its churches. The Book of Common Prayer knows of no altar. In its place we have the Lord's Table—a table of fellowship and love—the meeting-place of the Beloved Community with its Lord. That community offers up no visible sacrifice. It shows the Lord's death till He come. The Table at which we meet Christ is where we receive the inspiration and power for living the new Christian life of love and service in the world.

We Congregationalists stand there. For us, as for the early Church, the words altar and sacrifice have but a symbolic connotation. Our seventeenth-century fathers reacted against the Catholic high churchmanship of Archbishop Laud because they felt that the emphasis was being too heavily laid upon ritual and ceremony, and that there was real danger of man becoming a mere spectator of Christ's sacrifice when he ought to be a partaker of His suffering and a sharer of His travail. So they repudiated the altar and all that went with it—the ritual, the ceremony, and often even the art and the music. For them this repudiation was a surgical operation necessary to save the life of the Church.

Today we feel that they cut out more, perhaps, than was needful; that a beautiful building, music and art are not necessarily enemies of true religion and may be its allies. But we still feel that the emphasis must lie where our fathers placed it—where the New Testament places it. So we have no altar. We have the Lord's Table—a place of penitence and reconsecration, of renewed fellowship with our Lord and renewed loyalty to Him. But no altar. A Christian church is not a temple—not a place of sacrifice. Have we then no place of sacrifice? Assuredly we have! For us the place of sacrifice is the world, where men live and sin and suffer and die. We are part of the problem of that world and, by God's grace, we are also part of the answer to that problem. It is in that world that we make our sacrifice. It is there that we lay down our lives in humble service and obedience to God's will. For there, in the world of life, and only there, can we *live*. There, and only there, can we know and serve our God. "He that doeth the will, he shall know of the doctrine".

By all means let us gather ourselves together in the church. Let us worship God in the highest forms of poetry, music, art, philosophy, but let us not pretend that this is the whole of religion. Let us not imagine that worship stays in and ends in the church. True worship, true religion, goes out into the world; it runs in the dust; it practises truth and righteousness among men; it exercises its faith and trust in the market, the factory and the Council chamber.

There, it gives itself as a ransom for many; there it lays itself upon the altar—the only altar that man or God recognizes since Christ died for us once and for all. "If any man will be My disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me". Christian worship attains its fullness in Christian living. "Follow Me". Christ did not suffer and die inside a Church. His way led through Gethsemane and the Public Hall of Justice, amid peasants and soldiers, priests and town councillors and all the officialdom of city and State; and when He was to die, He was led through the city beyond the walls. His altar was there—not inside the Temple, but out in the world, on a gaunt hill called Golgotha.

"Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast". Let us keep the feast, showing our Lord's death till He come; but let us also heed that other word, "Wherefore Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto Him, bearing His reproach". There is our altar, 'without the gate' in the world of need, suffering, sin, and death. It is only there that we can present ourselves a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God.

It is the way the Master went,
Should not the servant tread it still?

THE NEAR EAST SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

By Horace M. McMullen, D.D.

For more than a century the evangelical forces in the Near East have been concerned about theological education. The Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon, which is today the chief outcome of this concern, has its origin in schools begun in 1835 and 1839.

In 1835 the Rev. William Thomson, later author of *The Land and the Book,* opened a seminary in Beirut, Syria (now Lebanon) under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (until 1870 the organ of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the U.S.A.). The school was founded in the hope that it would provide "native assistants to send out among the villages in the mountains and elsewhere to read and explain the scriptures, exhort, and where it shall be practicable, to hold prayer meetings". This was the first of several attempts at establishing a permanent theological school in the Lebanon. Sometimes the attempts failed because of an insufficient number of students; or because so many of the students, on completing their education, entered upon secular rather than religious work, or because other schools were opened which seemed to offer the same type of training. It was not until 1905 that a theological seminary was permanently established in Beirut. This school, known as the Beirut Theological Seminary, moved into its own quarters, Colton Hall, in the American Mission compound, in 1913. In 1926 the name was changed to the School for Religious Workers, and an enlarged curriculum was put into effect with the co-operation of the American University of Beirut.

The other parent of the present School traces its ancestry to a training school started in 1839 at Bebek in Istanbul. This was begun under the direction of Cyrus Hamlin, who later founded Robert College. Other schools were founded in Marzifoon, Marash and Harput, Turkey. After the first World War these were closed. In 1921, action was taken by the Near East Mission for the establishment of a School of Religion on "a broad and non-sectarian basis for the training of Christian Workers—young men and young women, for Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. work, Sunday School work, social service, and for the ministry in all churches". It was opened on 25th September, 1922, at Baker Hall, Rumeli-Hissar, near Robert College, under the leadership of the Rev. Fred Field Goodsell, D.D. Following the catastrophe of

Smyrna, the Armenian and Greek students, with Professor Levonian, moved to Athens, and the School of Religion functioned both at Istanbul and Athens until October 1925, when the branch at Istanbul was closed, and the two schools were combined at Athens under the direction of the Rev. Ernest Pye, D.D.

In 1930 the proposal was made to unite the School of Religion and the School for Religious Workers into one institution. After a period of negotiation between the Near East Mission and the Syria Mission, and their home Boards in America, the terms of the merger were agreed upon in the spring of 1932. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. became jointly responsible for its conduct. When the Board of Managers met in September 1932 it adopted the name, "Near East School of Theology". In 1945 the Evangelical Union of the Near East became co-operating bodies, and these four church bodies have since been represented on the Board of Managers.

While the original purpose of the two institutions was to train workers for the respective missions and churches, the joint School has enlarged its scope to include several denominational and other confessional groups, and it has extended geographically as well. Among the student body in recent years have been representatives of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Anglican Communions, the Armenian Brotherhood (a strongly fundamentalist group), the Armenian Apostolic Church (Gregorian), and the Greek Orthodox Church. Denominational lines, however, have only a modicum of meaning and the term "Evangelical" would include all the above groups but the last two. For any significant group of students of a particular communion the School is willing to co-operate in providing special courses. This is projected for the near future in the case of the Anglican students who will be receiving special preparation for canonical examinations in Anglican Church History, Liturgics and Dogmatics.

Geographically, the students have come from Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq. And they have gone out to serve a much greater area. One is Principal of a school in Ethiopia; another expects to leave soon for Iran, serving there as a missionary sent by the Near Eastern churches; and a number of graduates are serving in both south and north America. Much of the leadership of the Armenian churches (Congregational) in the United States has been provided by the Near East School of Theology. The executive secretary of the Armenian Missionary Associations of America, which has provided very substantial support for the Armenian Congregational Churches of the Near East, is a graduate of the School. The

remarkable vitality and stability of these Armenian churches of the Near East is due in large measure to the capable leadership which has been trained by the School. This wide spread might suggest that it had a very substantial enrolment. Actually, the student body is very modest in size. This year there are eighteen regular students and an additional thirteen doing special work. It is hoped that we may increase the regular student body to at least twenty-five, which would be near the optimum for our present facilities. During the seventeen years of the joint School seventy-three have graduated. Most of the students receive generous scholarship grants which provide tuition and room fees. In addition they may work in the library or the boarding club to provide for their board.

The courses of study are open to both men and women. For entrance a student must have completed the freshman year of a recognized liberal arts college, with two exceptions. Women who desire to enrol for a joint course with the American College for Women may enter with a high school diploma. Students who are unable to secure the freshman year but show promise for religious work may be admitted on the basis of previous experience to a special certificate course. The majority of students, however, enrol for the diploma course, which requires five years of study after the freshman year. This course is given in conjunction with the American University of Beirut and leads to the B.A. degree and the diploma of the School of Theology. Those who have completed their undergraduate work prior to admission are required to take three years of theological training. Diplomas and certificates are granted in theology and in religious education. The curriculum follows the general pattern of the American theological seminary, with the addition of a department of Islamics. This has been headed by Prof. Lootfy Levonian, who has conducted also an Islamic workshop for the production of Christian literature for the Moslems.

The staff includes another Armenian national, and it is expected that next year the first Arab professor will join the staff. Four Americans complete the regular faculty. They are supplied by the supporting missions. Four lecturers give special courses in Church Music, Armenian Church History, Rural Church, and Homiletics. All the instruction, except in advanced Homiletics, is in English.

The School is looking forward to growth along several lines. For some time the desire for removal of the quarters to a location near the American University of Beirut has been alive, but the move has been prevented by war-time conditions. Now the outlook seems brighter. Proximity to the University would enable us to provide the service of a College of Religion for the University, and

would also prove a helpful stimulus to our faculty and students. Another project under way is the securing of a charter for the granting of a B.D. degree. This would raise a new and definitive standard of evangelical theological education in the Near and Middle East. A third project is the securing of theological students from America and Britain for study here and in Palestine in order that they may have first-hand knowledge of the Bible lands.

During more than a century of service, the Near East School of Theology has provided most of the trained evangelical leadership of the Near East, with the exception of Egypt. In countless indirect ways it has also provided counsel and encouragement for the churches. It is hoped that in the present time of comparative peace in the Near East, the School may expand its programme to meet the growing need in this area for adequately trained and consecrated Christian leadership.

THE SOUL OF MOSES
(A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN POETIC DRAMA)

By Jessie Powell

The emergence of Christian poetic drama is one of the most significant features of the present time. The renaissance started before the War, but has survived it; has, indeed, gained strength from the War and post-war moods. What is the reason for it? In other words, what contribution has it to make to the life of this generation?

Before considering that from its three viewpoints: why drama? —why poetic?—why Christian? we must remind ourselves that it is a re-birth and not a new birth. Christian drama, largely poetic, flourished in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, then died away for three hundred years. Now it has been born again, but with a significant difference. The old drama took its rise in church, within the framework of the liturgy, and only gradually passed to the control of the people. The first recorded "speech" was the *"Quem quaeritis?"* of Easter Day, which led to dramatizations of other parts of the Gospel story. But the sponsors, writers and actors were all clergy; the whole production was an integral part of the Church Service. It was only when the growing number of people overflowed the church, forcing the plays to come forth, first into the churchyard and then into the very streets and market squares of the towns, that the clergy relinquished their place to the Craft Guilds as authors and actors. An immense body of plays then came into being, of which a large part of the York, Chester, Coventry and Towneley (Wakefield) Cycles is still extant.

During the three hundred years that intervene, the cleavage between Church and stage has been very wide. Now, in the re-birth of popular poetic drama, it has been bridged. The new Christian drama is as much at home in the theatre as in the church; its writers and exponents are men of the professional stage; it is as dramatically exciting as *Macbeth* or *Lear*. We are not considering dramatic poems which are not supremely actable, nor even a play such as John Masefield's *Trial of Jesus,* which was privately performed. The real start of the popular movement may be dated, broadly, from the production of Mr. T. S. Eliot's *The Rock* at Sadler's Wells in 1934.

This was followed by *Murder in the Cathedral* in 1935. Although both these plays were initially commissioned by the Church, and the *Murder* was actually first performed in Canterbury Cathedral, yet

each was written by a secular poet and playwright. Also, no sooner was the Canterbury Festival over, than the *Murder* was transferred to London, where it has since been repeatedly revived. It has also passed into the repertoire of many fine amateur dramatic societies which look to the professional stage for their dramatic inspiration. At one time poetic drama was attempted only by the arty-crafty; now our very Youth Club members are performing it.

In attempting to show that the new Christian poetic drama is an understandable feature of our time, we shall use as illustration a play which was given its *première* by a Youth Club in a Northern industrial town: *Go Down Moses,* by Philip J. Lamb. It links, through its producer Pamela Keily, to the Pilgrim Players and Mr. Martin Browne, *Murder*'s first producer.

First, then, Why drama? More and more ordinary people are doing and seeing and hearing drama than ever before, whether it be Christian and poetic or not. Drama is a psychological need of the present age, because it crystallizes the conflict of the human soul in a form that can be apprehended. Drama is not only the only form of art, but the only form of entertainment, other than sport, which in its very nature must possess conflict and, moreover, conflict fought to a climax. In an age of disintegration, unrest, instability and uncertainty of every kind, there is something immensely steadying and reassuring in this clear-cut issue; it is also very far from mere escapism.

The conflict in *Go down Moses* is stated simply and unequivocally in the first two minutes. Michael and Satan, clad as warriors, open the play: Michael proclaims himself:

Guardian in particular of one Moses,

to whom, he says, God has assigned the part which he must play. Satan retorts that

You must modify must;
God is omnipotent, and can compel;
But will not.
Between that can and will not, I step into the picture, I, Satan
. . .

He maintains that

Moses is no automaton,
But a human being with free will.
He may do as he pleases.
And shall do as he pleases. I, Satan, say it.
I defy you, Michael.
If you want Moses, you will have to fight for him.

Michael's reply clangs like spear on shield:

And am made for fighting.
Equivocal existence for a time is yours, Satan.
God suffers you, abroad among the sons of men,

To fight down with pride the holy aspiration,
And when you win, to ruin. So be it.
We fight each other for the soul of Moses,
And what depends upon the soul of Moses.
Let the fight begin.

This is a clarifying, not an over-simplification, of the eternal conflict between good and evil which goes on in the world. During the action, Satan appears as Pharaoh and as the Golden Calf as well as in his recognizable form to the mind of Moses; complexity of temptation is dramatically traced to its true source.

Then, too, drama offers a sharing of experience which is unique. Miss Dorothy L. Sayers has pointed out that drama is a trinity of playwright, actor, and audience, and it is not fully itself until its experience is shared by all three. By derivation the word "drama" means a *doing,* and until the play is done by actors before an audience, some part of its energy remains unreleased. It is this sharing of emotional experience which results in the *catharsis,* the cleansing of the emotions which was for the Greeks the intended result of all true drama, and which is also a vital need of this repressed, machine-ridden age. Men and women spend so much of their lives at soulless mechanical tasks that their emotional selves are in danger of becoming atrophied.

In a Christian play, the moments of deepest emotion are inherent in its very Christianity, and we shall be dealing with those when we come to our third question. But within the gamut of human emotions (as distinct from those aroused by the direct impact of God on the human soul) there is an exquisite scene in *Go down Moses* which perfectly shows the difference between genuine and synthetic emotion. The time is immediately before the call of Moses to return to Egypt to lead his brothers out. For a few years he has known a kind of freedom away from the revolting sight of the Hebrews' slavery in Egypt; away from the Pharaoh's avenging anger for his assassination of the Egyptian. Zipporah, his wife, is with three friends who are luxuriating in the natural beauty of the land at the foothills of Sinai. Zipporah intuitively knows that her husband is not at peace within his soul.

His brittle happiness is breaking.
The old pain returns. There is something he cannot forget.
Even in sleep the pain hurts him.

The other women try to persuade her that it is simply because Moses has been a prince that he cannot at once adapt himself to their simple ways,

. . . but with lapse of summers
Use brings comfort; the heart will grow accustomed
To littleness, as the hands do to labour.

Zipporah knows better.

Summers have come and gone, but Moses does not dwindle.
The biting sand wears not that rock away
Nor dropping water.
He will never be content like other shepherds.
I have seen a look in his eyes which makes me afraid.

There follows the call of Moses in God's name by Michael, and the agony of decision which Zipporah, although without a clue to its reason or outcome, has foreseen in the life of her husband. Helpless, she is in agony with him:

I knew there was fear at the heart of his peace;
As he lay in my arms his dreams have infected mine.

The other women, emotionally detached, are blind and trivial:

He shall yet discover peace among the palm-trees . . .

but she bids them

Be quiet, sisters.
The voice is in his ears; he cannot hear
Such music as we make.
Our flowers are shrivelling in this strange fire.
Do not expect Moses to be again
Moses as we have known him;
He has come face to face with his own fear,
And now must fight or yield himself a craven.

And finally, with the sublime self-abnegation of love:

Let him be.
Let his destiny lead him where he has to go.

When we turn to the second question, Why poetical? we are met by the objection of many prose-minded materialists that they haven't the time for poetry: give them good honest prose for economy in saying what it means. It comes as a shock to them to be told that poetry is both more economical and more penetrating than prose. We speak of *poetry*—not verse, not a pretty or soothing metrical jingle or an overloaded elaboration of fine phrases. Genuine poetry is austere and sinewy, capable of reaching sublime heights by its asceticism. When the poet-playwright lifts the drama above the expression of everyday commonplaces to grapple with the interior life of the soul, he can strip his text of all verbiage and go straight to the root of the matter. With a prose-medium this would be either impossible or, if achieved, too self-conscious for comfort.

This economy is seen at many levels. At the lowest—that of the actual physical stage—poetry concentrates the action in a continuous whole without those disruptive pauses for scene-changing which the prose-play usually demands. For instance, in *Go down Moses,* at the end of the first scene which takes place in Egypt, the scene for what follows is set in the very words of the temptation. After Satan has convinced Moses that

One chapter has ended. A new one must begin
Out of Egypt,

he suggests the scene for which he knows his victim's desert-dried soul longs:

Over the desert to the foothills of Sinai.

Presently Moses is responding:

There will be quiet in the fields,
Where the shepherd at evening tells his flock,
And fountains murmur through the palm-trees.

Satan bids Moses go quickly, and he goes. The Devil claims this as victory, so long as he can keep Moses apart from the People. He taunts Michael:

Moses, who fancied himself a hero,
Has chosen the country life, married and settled down,
Where—

Michael interrupts:

Where by the natural scene refreshed, his eyes
Will see again the Way, his ears more clearly
Discern the insistent, more and more articulate
Formulation of the divine decree. . . .
On guard, Satan.

Zipporah and her friends enter dancing, saying:

Sifting sands between the porphyry crags,
Sifting sands and dryness in the desert;
But in the foothills of the mountains,
The fall of water, the palm tree waving its branches.
This is the grass-land, the land of delight.

In a few lines the poet-playwright has indicated lapse of time change of scene and approaching crisis. A change of physical scenery would be detrimental to the play's true movement; a change of light would help, but even that can be dispensed with.

Another example of poetry's economy is seen in the first entrance of Moses into the midst of a group of slavery-sodden Hebrews; brawling over a domestic quarrel. The character of Moses and of the People as they were then, and his life-long struggle to stiffen them into the nation capable of becoming the Lsrael of God, are concentrated into six lines:

Let that man go. Let that man go, I say.
What, must I use the whip? That's better.
Like curs you snarl and fight, but one crack of the whip
And like curs you cringe.
And now stand up. Stand up.
For pity's sake stand up, man. Use your backbone.

The penetrative power of poetry, its faculty for expressing what is beyond ordinary prose speech, is seen in the reaction of Moses to the command of God revealed to his inner sense by Michael, after

the vision of the burning bush. Instead of the self-conscious and tongue-tied embarrassment of groping prose, we have:

Fire in the bush has become lightning
And shrivelled to black ash the pretty camouflage
Wherewith I hid myself from my own eyes.
I challenged the voice to define its meaning,
The moment of vision to speak plain.
Earth, air, water and fire, all I have ever known of good,
With something wholly other, eluding the mind's grasp.
All these became articulate in answer.

It may seem strange to ask the third question: Why Christian? and propose to answer it with illustrations from a play about an Old Testament character. Yet *Go down Moses* is a profoundly Christian play. It shows Moses in relation, not only to his own times, but to the destiny of the Hebrew People as a whole, and therefore in relation to Christ who was born a Hebrew. His final temptation on the summit of Pisgah, when he faces the disappointment of not setting foot in the Promised Land, takes the form of a scathing revelation of the depths to which the People will fall in later generations. When Moses says *I die but the People march,* Satan bids:

Open your eyes again over the land and see.
See plunder and rapine, the dirty tricks of war.
Power cankering to cruelty, self, self, self,
Always self, the slimy passions always predominant . . .

He bids Moses look ahead:

Fifty generations hence, fifty generations.
What is afoot among the Chosen People?

With the aid of the Chorus he shows Moses the fate of Jesus at the hands of his People, and when Moses cries out

But this man is just and righteous.
Will you bring innocent blood upon your heads?

Satan taunts:

Go down, Moses. You have been dead fifteen hundred years.

It is not necessary to the play's purpose to believe realistically that Moses had his prevision. The point at issue is that Moses, whether wittingly or not, *was* a part of God's plan towards Christ, and the poet-playwright heightens his drama by showing us something of that larger purpose through the eyes of the chief character, rather than by stepping outside and turning commentator. *Go down Moses* joins hands with the other poetical dramas that have come into being in the last dozen years, in being truly Christian. It is as if the poet, with his longer, clearer vision, inevitably sees as far as Christ, whereas the materialist is still "blinded by his eyes", as Rupert Brooke put it. It is not only T. S. Eliot and Philip J. Lamb, but Donald Duncan, the late Charles Williams, Christopher Fry, Richard H. Ward, Anne Ridler, Dorothy L. Sayers, and others,

who have written real plays, eminently "good theatre", in true poetry, and have all reached Christian heights through their poetical drama.

The truth that Christian faith has a power to transcend the fiercest onslaughts of despair is demonstrated dramatically in *Go down Moses* after Satan's last taunt:

The laughter of God's unconscionable sense of humour,
Who has played this prank upon you,
To bring you all this way, and show you
The end of hope. Curse him and die.
Well, what will you do?

Michael puts God's challenge:

What will you do, Moses?

And Moses makes answer:

I shall pray. I shall give glory to God.
I gave Him my allegiance once and do not swerve now at the last.
Though all this shall be, even so as I have seen,
Though His ways are as unsearchable as the grave,
I know Him in whom I have hoped.
Under the unconceived and unconceivable failure
Some purpose stands.
O God, God, God, God of my fathers,
God of the Burning Bush and of the Mountain,
Before my eyes that look into the dark be darkened for ever,
Before the earth press heavy on my eyelids,
Make your meaning plain.

He bows himself in prayer, and Michael wrings from Satan the admission that he has lost. He goes, impudent to the last, and Michael summons a company of angels to complete Satan's distorted prevision—a vision of the New Israel of God, the Church:

Israel is dead in Christ, and with Christ is risen.

Finally, they *show him the Christ,* and Moses, transfigured with joy, gives up his life with the words:

God, made flesh in Israel.
Yes, Lord, I understand.
Here am I.
I come.

Michael closes the play with the sublime words:

And the Lord buried him in the land of Moab by the hand of angels,
And no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day.

In that way does the play keep within its orbit. That is the final reason for the satisfying experience of Christian poetic plays: in a world of uncertainty and formlessness, they obey strong inner rules. They are free to range through time, mind and heart, but they come at the last to rest at their own subject, that the journeys may be seen in relation to their home which is God.

REVIEWS

(The place of publication is London unless stated otherwise)

Introduction to the Old Testament. 2 Vols., 1949. By A. BENTZEN. Gad, Copenhagen, and Oxford University Press. 25s. & 30s.

The volumes are the English translation of a Danish work published in 1941; the material has been arranged differently and notice has been taken of some books published or made available to the author between 1941 and 1947. The first volume contains what is known as General Introduction and contains an opening chapter on the method and history of Old Testament introduction, sections on The Canon, The Text, and The Forms of Literature, and a final short chapter on the way in which smallest literary units become combined into greater literary complexes. The second volume is Special Introduction to the separate books of the Old Testament, in the order in which they are found in the Hebrew version, and of some of the books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Both volumes contain an acknowledgment to Professor Rowley of Manchester for improving the English, but the reader has to assume that his time was inadequate, for the style and language still make the work difficult to read, and it is a pity that the English translation does not conform to such usual English conventions as putting the table of contents at the beginning instead of at the end of the book; the method of indicating notes—with a number in a half bracket—is confusing. It is a compliment to British and American Old Testament scholarship that our Scandinavian friends are making their work available to us, but their influence would be much wider and their sales greater if their publishers took the trouble to have the writing 'Englished' properly.

In the first volume the new element for English readers is the long valuable account of the forms of Hebrew literature which owes much to Eissfeldt's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* published in 1934, and unfortunately never translated into English. In the second volume considerable use has been made of Pfeiffer's encyclopædic Introduction to the Old Testament, but the author does not aim at or achieve completeness. His declared purpose is to 'orientate readers in the discussion of my own time and—especially—my own surroundings'. The great value of his work is that he makes available for English readers the large amount of work produced in the last decade by the Swedish schools of Old Testament scholars, most of which is not easily accessible to us and yet is an extremely important contribution to our understanding of the Old Testament.

The book has to be thought of as complementary to, rather than as a substitute for, such an introduction as that by S. R. Driver, and it is characteristic of it as of modern scholarship that it is concerned much more with books about the literature of the Old Testament than about the book itself. There is considerable danger today that, to be treated as a serious work of scholarship, a book must have the form of a thesis for a degree designed to impress the examiner with the width—and often the indiscriminate nature—of the author's reading. Professor Bentzen's polemic against Engnell, another member of the Swedish school whose work he uses very freely, would be more in place in a review than in this indispensable work of constructive scholarship.

The Mosaic Tradition. By F. V. WINNETT. Toronto University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 28s.

Professor Winnett's book requires and deserves close study because it attempts to offer an alternative theory of the composition of the Hexateuch from the orthodox critical Wellhausen hypothesis. His theory is that Exodus and Numbers constitute a primary source, the Mosaic Tradition. After the fall of Samaria, Judah issued a new edition of this national tradition, and a century later published a completely recast version in the book of Deuteronomy. After the exile P (the Jerusalem priesthood) attempted to harmonize Deuteronomy and the original Mosaic tradition in the interests of the claim of the Jerusalem primacy over the Northern, Samaritan, priesthood. The book carefully analyses the narratives in Exodus and Numbers, attempting to show where the Priestly confusion has crept in, and concludes with a reconstruction of the original Mosaic tradition. The writer could have made a better case if he had broken further from the orthodox critical view. One key to the Mosaic tradition is Jeremiah 15^{1} compared with Ezekiel 14^{14}, and another lies in the struggle in Chronicles between the Davidic and the Mosaic theory of the origin of Israel's ritual. For the form of the tradition as it was taken over and altered by P we must look at the sixth century and the events in Palestine during the exile. The author and the University of Toronto are to be congratulated on the book which forms the first of a new 'Near and Middle East Series'. It is a pity British publishers (and scholars) have lost the initiative and courage to project such series and take a lead in putting out new theories for discussion rather than waste their time in reiterating orthodoxy.

J. N. SCHOFIELD.

The Christian Doctrine of God, Dogmatics, Vol. I. By EMIL BRUNNER. Lutterworth Press. 21s.

When the old traditional Calvinism of our churches was rejected, no other dogmatic system took its place. We are today increasingly aware of our need of a theology that shall be Biblical, preachable and comprehensive. We have now available in English the first volume of Dr. Brunner's Dogmatics. Dr. Brunner writes avowedly as a Biblical and Reformed theologian. Is this the beginning of the work we have been looking for?

Dr. Brunner is most fortunate in his translator. Miss Wyon has (apart from one curious grammatical slip on p. 227) done her work admirably. This reads like an English book. But it is longer than it need be and more rhetorical than it should be. This volume contains the Prolegomena and of Part I the section on the Nature of God and His Attributes with the opening of the second section on the Will of God.

Dogmatics is a necessary study because the believing community must think out the implications of the revelation given to it in Jesus Christ; for it is He, and not the creed, that is the revelation. But what is the relation between the revelation and the words in which we seek to express it, and what is the relation between dogma and Holy Scripture? Dogmatics, says Dr. Brunner, is a form of Bible translation; yet all translation involves an element of alteration or misrepresentation. Moreover, "the dogmatic theologian must walk along the narrow knife-edge between two precipices: the wrong 'offence' of being unintelligible, of teaching a doctrine which does not 'fit' " (i.e. which is irrelevant to modern thought)"on the one hand, and the avoidance of the genuine 'offence' of the Cross on the other".

The great merit and strength of this book is that Dr. Brunner seeks to be Biblical throughout. The doctrine of the Trinity, he says, is no part of the original Gospel, but it is implied in the Gospel; yet what is implied is a *mysterium majestatis et caritatis*, not a *mysterium logicum*. Again, the

Bible certainly teaches Election, but if faith recognizes the call of Jesus Christ to be the call of God, "it is impossible that there should be any contradiction between election and responsibility".

Much of the book is a diatribe against traditional ideas as involving a Hellenizing or Platonizing of the Gospel, and Dr. Brunner has no difficulty in showing that the dynamic or eschatological religion of the Bible cannot easily be interpreted in the static terms of Greek philosophy. But is it enough for a dogmatic theologian to say, for instance, that "the doctrine of Election is not intelligible in theory, but only in the decision of faith"? Dr. Brunner's starting point is very different from that of Dr. John Baillie, for instance, in "Our Knowledge of God". Again, although Dr. Brunner seeks to be wholly Biblical he interprets the Bible in the light of Calvinism. He may be said to writhe with the question of "natural theology". There is a knowledge of God, he says, but no communion with Him apart from the Biblical revelation; we do know God through Nature, but the God so known is the God of Wrath; "the God whom we have in unbelief, outside of Jesus Christ, is the angry God who does not prepare salvation for us, but judgment for doom"; where God is present, Christ may, or may not, be present. Dr. Brunner finds it quite impossible to think that there is any communion with God outside the Christian religion, or that Christ spoke to Socrates; he regards the doctrine of *Apocatastasis* or the Restoration of all things as the fancy of second-rate theologians and as making the Cross of Christ of none effect. He gives us the Bible as it is interpreted by a very learned and profoundly religious man brought up in the Calvinist tradition. I wish that he were more appreciative both of the Platonic tradition in English religious thought and of the setting of the Christian religion in the story of human religion as a whole. But this is a weighty and important book, worthy of the most serious consideration of all those who feel the need of a theology at once Biblical and systematic. NATHANIEL MICKLEM.

Existence and Analogy. By E. L. MASCALL. Longmans. 12s 6d.

Thinkers may be divided into those who know the answers to our contemporary problems, whatever further probing they need to do, and those who, whatever their deep convictions, are still looking for the answers. My own belief is that the second group will, in the long run, lead us more surely. But there are advantages in belonging to the first class, as Dr. Mascall does. He has given a free and unforced allegiance to Thomism, and from that vantage point surveys the central issues of natural theology and makes illuminating comments on historical and contemporary thinkers. His definiteness of position gives to his work a grace and lucidity which is pleasant and attractive to the reader.

Dr. Mascall is concerned with two issues—existence and analogy, though both are rooted in the characteristic existentialism of St. Thomas. The author's survey of the opposite tendency of essentialism is extremely penetrating in its criticism. There should be no doubt of the healthy antiseptic quality about the thought of St. Thomas. Taken seriously, it removes at one blow a great many unworthy and confused notions of God which creep into our thinking. The only question is: Can we use his characteristic concepts in the intellectual setting of the twentieth century? Dr. Mascall affirms here, where he should explain. We need (i) more explanation of the relation between Hellenism and Hebraism in St. Thomas; (ii) justification of the use of 'to exist' as meaning 'to *do something*, to be exercising an activity, to be tending towards an end'; (iii) justification of the right to think of the effect as analagous to the cause; (iv) justification in modern terms of Thomist epistemology. The substance of what Dr. Mascall affirms must surely be affirmed, but it must be done by a new presentation arising out of our modern

condition. Dr. Mascall's discussion of analogy is important and illuminating —it is a pity, though, that he has not taken account of the work of W. G. de Burgh.

The Old Testament in the Church. By J. Woods. S.P.C.K. 9s. 6d.

Any reader who is not yet aware of our need for a new positive appropriation of the Old Testament might do well to read this book. At its best it convincingly sets out the need and value of reading the Old Testament in the light of its fulfilment in Christ. This is particularly true of the section on the Prophets. The book suffers from the fact that its argument is often inconclusive, that its net of quotations is thrown too widely, and that in places (e.g. in dealing with the Law) it is far too remote from the text of the Old Testament. But the theme is a great one, and the book is interesting and suggestive.

H. Cunliffe-Jones.

The Life of the World to Come. By R. J. Campbell. Longmans, Green. 12s. 6d.

The prologue states that the book is addressed to those among the Spiritualists "who are hostile to and contemptuous of the Christian Church and its creed", and it is therefore an *eirenicon* designed to bring together two kinds of believers in the survival of the soul after death. Dr. Campbell, of course, believes in a future life on Christian grounds, but finds his belief confirmed by his study for more than forty years of the findings of the Society for Psychical Research. He is, however, too modest in supposing that his book "will possess less interest for any other" type of reader. The reviewer has read it with much pleasure and profit, and is sure this will be the experience of many other readers.

The value of this book lies not in the Biblical analogies to the findings of psychical research, which play quite a minor part in the discussion, but in its very competent treatment of the contrasted Jewish and Greek doctrines of resurrection and immortality, and their growth from the Sheol—Hades conception, and of the New Testament teaching in relation to the Kingdom of God, the Lordship of Christ, and the renewal of the universe in "the age to come". Dr. Campbell's book deserves an honoured place in the literature of this vital aspect of Christian faith. It is obviously written out of a deep conviction which the author succeeds in communicating to the reader.

The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ. By W. Vischer. Lutterworth Press. 25s.

This book is a translation by A. B. Crabtree of the first volume, dealing with the Pentateuch, of the controversial two-volume work, *Das Christuszeugnis des Alten Testaments*, by the Swiss Professor of Old Testament studies in the French Protestant University of Montpellier.

I have the impression that this is one of those books which you either like very much, or not at all. One reader, at least, must confess that the further he read, the more astonished he became. There would have been no reason, perhaps, for astonishment had it not been made clear that the writings of such as Albright and Pedersen are regarded as important, and that "historical and literary criticism has brought to our attention" "the human contingency of the Bible". The impression one gets, however, is that the Old Testament might almost have been written after Christ in cipher which it is our task to decode. While there is, indeed, much that is thoughtful and inspiring in this book, I cannot feel that its method is sound. Theology must be firmly based on sober exegesis if it is going to do any more than tickle the palate of the Bibliolater.

A. J. B. Higgins.

The Christian Significance of the Old Testament. By Dr. A. J. B. Higgins. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

We welcome this thorough book because of revived interest in its subject. It begins by setting out the difficulties which the Old Testament has raised for thoughtful people from Marcion to the present day. One feels that such matters as the O.T. miracles are dealt with at somewhat disproportionate length, but Dr. Higgins deliberately draws attention to the primitive elements in the O.T. and rightly insists that the O.T. must be taken as a whole in its claim to be part of the Christian revelation. He next sets out the main O.T. ideas which waited for their full realization in Christ, and shows how this fulfilment is illustrated by N.T. writers, and by Jesus Himself in his conception of Messiahship which combined the ideas of Messiah, Servant of Yahweh and Son of Man into an unprecedented unity.

The book might serve as an outline of Biblical Theology, for that is a large part of its value and it is set out with careful scholarship and references to recent literature. It deals with the question of the significance of the Old Testament for Christians in so far as it demonstrates that the N.T. is rooted in the O.T. and that the questions to which the N.T. provides the answers are raised in the O.T. and *only there*. We certainly have the Bible treated as an indissoluble unity. Dr. Higgins is firm against the obscurantism of such writers as Vischer and Hebert and the frankly uncritical emphasis of Fundamentalism. But in the judgment of the present reviewer the chapter on The Interpretation of the O.T. ought to have been fuller and the point of view of Hebert criticized more at length. We should like Dr. Higgins's help in understanding what is possible in the matter of mystical interpretation, for which he allows "a strictly limited use". But we can only be grateful for the sound basis here provided for a Christian use of the O.T. as referring forward to Christ, not in the sense that any text can be twisted into a reference to Him—that way lie the extravagances of typology—but as furnishing the categories which make possible a full understanding of His Person and Work.

The Christian Way. By Dr. S. Cave. Nisbet. 16s.

Many books discuss Christian Ethics and Modern Problems without expounding the Biblical basis; others, including the learned works of Flew and Kirk, set out the main principles without relating the subject to current issues. This new book of Dr. Cave's is a study of the application of Christian principles to present-day living based on competent exposition of the New Testament fundamentals.

Dr. Cave begins by emphasizing that the Christian ethic is unintelligible except in the context of the Christian faith; it derives from Christ experienced not as Lawgiver but as One in whom God was acting redemptively. Three chapters of N.T. exposition are followed by an important chapter on the Method and Scope of Christian ethics. Here the distinctiveness of the Christian ethic is stressed, but without the sharp delineation which makes non-Christian ethical systems appear to have no meaning. Dr. Cave advocates the use of the conception of natural law as expressing something of the idea of absolute justice; Christians and non-Christians have a basis of agreement here against those who acknowledge no moral absolutes except the State. Next comes a chapter on Motives and Sanctions which considers basic concepts like Law and Grace, asceticism (Kirk's term "rigorism" is perhaps preferable), and "the relevance of the eternal". The necessary basis is now laid for discussion of the modern problem and we have chapters on Marriage, Industry and the State, with a final chapter on the task of the Church.

Scholarly judgment and awareness of all the issues make this a book to be referred to with confidence and gratitude. Not the least part of its usefulness is its recognition that the teaching of Jesus is not directly relevant to the world of today where our responsibility for social justice, for example, is much greater than that of the first Christians; admitting this, however, Dr. Cave does not fail to stress the ethical motivation that is implicit for men of every century in the revelation of God's love and power in Jesus.

Christianity and History. By H. BUTTERFIELD. Bell. 7s. 6d.

Those who heard his broadcast talks will want to read Herbert Butterfield's *Christianity and History,* which reproduces them in an expanded form. Considering the profound nature of the issues discussed this is a remarkably readable book. It is most encouraging to find a historian of such eminence as Professor Butterfield coming out with an avowedly Christian interpretation. He is convinced that it is impossible to give any meaning to human destiny apart from those ideas of divine providence and judgment which the Bible contributes; the convulsions of the 20th century should not incline us to despair but rather to a new appraisal of the Hebrew prophets and their interpretation of Israel's tragic history.

Professor Butterfield faces squarely the misinterpretation of history which is at the basis of Marxism. He gives reason for asserting the significance of personality, as against the ignoring of it by mathematicians and scientists. He takes a serious view of human nature—"it is essential not to have faith in human nature. Such faith is a recent heresy and a very disastrous one" (p.47)—and allows the relevance of moral categories. He is far from encouraging facile judgments even on a Hitler; barbarism is a real possibility today, but a reaction of mere moral indignation is vain. The tragedy of today arises from reliance on superficial idealists and excessive optimism about human character. Butterfield does not believe much in the creative personality, but he is emphatic that "the end of human history is the manufacture and education of human souls" (p. 76). He has little patience with eschatology conceived as a doctrine of the end; for him eschatology is the attempt to gain a radical understanding of what is happening to mankind in its bitterest experiences, and this involves a doctrine of God's providence. When he speaks of Christianity, Butterfield generally means the life of the individual characterized by charity and humility rather than the life of the institution, and he is open to the criticism of having insufficient sense of the importance of the Church. But we note the heartening things he says about the present opportunity for Christians. Having faith in God they have an inspiration and a freedom which no political re-ordering can take away; knowing Christ they have a rock on which to stand firm whatever may befall in the world of action or thought. E. C. BLACKMAN.

Paths in Utopia. By MARTIN BUBER. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Translated by R. F. C. HULL. 15s.

This is in line with the fundamental emphasis of Buber's thought as expressed in *I and Thou* and *Between Man and Man.* It is a plea for "Utopian Socialism" i.e., that Socialism "which fights for the maximum degree of communal autonomy possible in a 'reconstructed' society", and which, in studies of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, Kropotkin and others, Buber shows was gradually strangled in European Socialism by the emergence of Marxist and Leninist Communism. I cannot too warmly commend this excellent tract for the times to those who are torn between the Scylla of Collectivism and the Charybdis of "Anarchism". It is Buber's great merit that he is sensitively aware both of the necessity of centralization and of its perilous limitations. W. D. DAVIES.

Calvin's Doctrine of Man. By T. F. TORRANCE. Lutterworth Press. 14s.

Prolonged and detailed study of Calvin's works has convinced Dr. Torrance that "Calvin's own position was very different from the hardened system that has long passed under the name of Calvinism". In this book, the author has harvested some of the fruits of his study, in "an attempt to lay bare Calvin's own thought and to present it as far as possible in his own way and in his own words". He has turned his back on the traditional exposition, and the reader will find no references to books about Calvin. He is given instead a lavishly documented presentation of Calvin himself, which brings together, within the framework of Dr. Torrance's self-effacing *continuo,* material drawn from every part of the immense Calvin *corpus.* The book is a model of objective exposition. Naturally Dr. Torrance has at the back of his mind the contemporary theological debate, in which the Christian Doctrine of Man is a storm centre. And indeed Dr. Torrance has made a great contribution to this debate by letting Calvin speak for himself and so take part in it in person, as it were, rather than at second-hand through his followers, whether orthodox or "revisionist". So if we want to know what Calvin really taught regarding the Image of God in Man, Natural Depravity, or Natural Theology, we can now avail ourselves of the short cut that Dr. Torrance has provided for us in this admirable source book. We shall get some surprises. In fact, the book may be specially commended to those whom "Calvinism" has rendered allergic to Calvin. They will find a new Calvin within these pages. And not a few of us, after reading them, will endorse Dr. Torrance's judgment that "in John Calvin the Reformed Church has had a theologian, with magnitude in mind and depth of understanding, second to none in the history of the Christian Church".

Each chapter is preceded by a most useful epitome, which makes an index unnecessary. All students of the Reformation and contemporary theology will be grateful for a book which at once takes its place among their indispensable tools of research. H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

Authority in the Apostolic Age. By R. R. WILLIAMS. S.C.M. 8s. 6d.

The Principal of St. John's College, Durham, has given us a most useful study of an important aspect of a crucial problem. His method is largely historical: he seeks to discover "the nature and scope of the authority exercised in and through the primitive Church". He starts with a study of *I Corinthians,* to show apostolic authority in action; and then follow chapters on the authority of history, of the ministry, of dynamic happenings, of common practice, and of Christ in His Church. These were the Burroughs Lectures at Leeds for 1948, now somewhat expanded; and there are in addition two essays; one is an account of the modern discussion of authority, and the other is on the contemporary problem of authority. The study of the evidence is scholarly and fair; but why so little about the Holy Spirit?

The chief value of this excellent book is as a presentation of the evidence from which contemporary discussions must begin: the Church cannot properly grapple with the problem of authority apart from such a searching examination of the experience of the primitive Church as is here given. There is evidence here of P. T. Forsyth's increasing influence upon Anglican theology; the author has rare skill in the presentation of evidence and sure perception of the heart of any problem; moreover, he has a true sympathy with those from whom he differs: if all Anglicans wrote thus (e.g., his treatment of the apostolical succession) how much easier and more fruitful would be their conversations with Free Churchmen! JOHN HUXTABLE.

The Public Worship of God. By Dr. H. S. COFFIN. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

Since this book was first published in America in 1946 it has been widely read and highly valued on both sides of the Atlantic. The Independent Press is to be congratulated on making it readily available to English readers at what must now be considered a very reasonable price.

Dr. Coffin writes as a representative of the Reformed tradition (he is himself a Presbyterian) and what he has to say should be studied closely by all who are responsible for the conduct of public worship in non-liturgical churches. The book is full of sound judgment and wise counsel of a practical nature. Though written primarily for American readers, it contains little that does not apply equally to Reformed churches in this country.

After chapters on the nature and theological bases of Christian worship, Dr. Coffin goes on to discuss the form and conduct of the Church service. Then follows what is perhaps the best chapter of the book, on "The Composition of Public Prayers", which all ministers who are committed to the exacting task of regularly leading the Church in prayer should not fail to read. Chapters follow on Praise and on Worship through the Word (reading and preaching) and the Sacraments. A full chapter deals with the Children's Address and makes many suggestions (about some of which there will be differences of opinion) for that part of the service. A final chapter is devoted to a consideration of Public Worship and Christian reunion.

Throughout this book Dr. Coffin puts the emphasis in the right place. Christian worship is offered to God and from beginning to end the note of praise and adoration should be sounded. At the same time, worship must prove helpful and interesting to the congregation if the attention and co-operation of worshippers is to be sustained. The book is enriched with many good illustrations and quotations; and a useful bibliography is added as an appendix. JAMES M. TODD.

Christianity and Society. By NELS F. S. FERRÉ. Harper, New York. $3.75.

This book is the third volume of the Trilogy on *Reason and the Christian Faith* which forms the first part of a series of volumes Professor Ferré plans to write. The earlier volumes spoke of *Faith and Reason* and *Evil and the Christian Faith*. The present volume, which embodies lectures given at various theological colleges in America, deals with the practical application of Christianity. "It is not a study of the specific methods or of the concrete choices of social action, but a discussion of the total bearing of the Christian faith on social solutions".

Dr. Ferré is the son of a Swedish minister and his first book, reviewed in this Quarterly some ten years ago, was on *Swedish Contributions to Modern Theology* with special reference to *Lundensian Theology*. Naturally it had much to say on Nygren's notable book on the two words for love, *Agape and Eros*. Accepting the primacy of *Agape* in Christianity and recognizing the value of Nygren's exposition, Dr. Ferré criticized it on the ground that "it failed to connect God the Redeemer with God the Creator" and "the *eros* of our nature with the *agape* of God". The book before us is a development and amplification of what Dr. Ferré then wrote. The book is divided into three parts, each with an introduction and three chapters. Part I deals with *The Eternal Purpose and the Historic Process* and affirms that "Christianity is *more* than Society"; that "Christianity is *true* Society" and that "Christianity is completely *for* Society". The final authority is the *Agape* of God and "Christianity as *Agape* fellowship constitutes pure process and true society" and cannot be limited "either to our individual relation to God or to our direct relation to our neighbour in the spirit." Part II deals with *The Church*

and the World under the headings: "The Church as the Incarnation of the Holy Spirit"; "The Distinctive Dimension of Christian Social Action" and "The Translating and Transpowering Rôle of the Spirit". Part III is devoted to "Concrete Considerations" and expounds "The Christian Perspective" on War, on Property and on Education.

In the brief space allotted to me for this review, it is impossible to deal with any adequacy with this difficult but very suggestive book. It raises questions of fundamental importance: the relation of *agape* to *eros* and of the place of justice in social ethics. We do not ourselves agree with all Dr. Ferré's solutions of these grave problems but we have read this book with much gratitude for the competence of its exposition, its learning and its discrimination. The most urgent and perplexing issue for theology today is in regard to the nature and sphere of Christian Ethics and this book is a notable contribution to that great debate. SYDNEY CAVE.

A Short History of World Music. By CURT SACHS. Dennis Dobson. 18s.

This is a photographic reproduction of a book published in New York under the title, *Our Musical Heritage*; the date of the original publication is not indicated in the English edition, but references in the text establish a date later than 1946.

To English readers the great thing about this book will be that it is up to date, comprehensive, and reliable. The author, of course, writes in good American. "Right now" and "eighth-notes", and "an orchestra of 150 pieces" are examples of what we meet frequently, and the clarity of every page justifies and even makes welcome the salty flavour of the diction. Mathematics enters into the story rather early, but the association is an extremely respectable one and we do not quarrel with it. Two omissions strike us as remarkable, namely the absence of any reference to the work of Egon Wellesz in the paragraphs (pp. 62f.) on Byzantine music, and the absence from the entire text of the name of Vaughan Williams. With two implied judgments we are at issue: first, the omission from Schubert's significant work of his G major Quartet and 'Cello Quintet, and second (this is serious) the remark (p. 333) that Chopin's music is "entirely unpolyphonic", which betrays a sadly facile appreciation of Chopin; he is, in the background, as ruthlessly contrapuntal as Bach. We are surprised to hear (p. 359) that Richard Strauss "towers above" Sibelius. The bibliographies are almost entirely American. There are sixteen admirable illustrations. A vigorous, unsentimental and just treatment of the subject.

A Dictionary of Church Music. By G. W. STUBBINGS. Epworth Press. 7s. 6d.

This is not a dictionary and should never have been called one. It is something more interesting and more widely useful which, on the analogy of a well-known publication by Percy Scholes, should have been called "The Worshipper's Guide to Church Music". We have here a handy and readable reference book in which the facts are reliable and well-chosen and the opinions well worth hearing; for, as is quite proper in a "Guide" but would not be in a "Dictionary", the author does not shrink from expressing his own views. Liturgy and church-order are touched on as well as mechanics and musical rudiments, but the book does not deal with individual persons or compositions and only rarely with books. ERIK ROUTLEY.

SHORTER NOTICES & DESCRIPTIVE LIST

THE new edition of Miss Mona Wilson's *The Life of William Blake* (Hart-Davis, 21s.) is welcome, especially since the original (1927) Nonesuch edition is now out of print. The present edition contains a new preface and additional notes embodying the results of research during the last twenty years. No doubt Blake's contemporaries underestimated his achievement, but in view of the space devoted by Miss Wilson to the symbolic books, one wonders whether today we do not tend to take him too seriously. Miss Wilson proves that Blake was never certifiably insane, but that he was 'mad' in the colloquial meaning of the word seems evident, not only from some passages in his works, but also from the testimony of such sympathetic judges as Southey and Crabb Robinson.

William Wordsworth (Phœnix House, 8s. 6d.), an introduction and a selection by Mr. Norman Nicholson, is a particularly happy addition to the "Poets on the Poets" series. Wordsworth, more than any of the great poets, benefits from a ruthless if judicious use of the pruning knife, and there can be no one better qualified than Mr. Nicholson to use it. This book is worth buying, even by confirmed Wordsworthians, if only for the sake of the Introduction.

Mr. John Middleton Murry's new book, *The Mystery of Keats* (Peter Nevill, 12s. 6d.), is described as a companion volume to his *Keats and Shakespeare*. It includes chapters on the poet's relations with Fanny Brawne and with his sister, besides studies of his poetry and of the influence on him of Milton, Wordsworth, and Blake. Mr. Murry's criticism has the great virtue and the small defects of one who writes as an apostle rather than as a judge. Keats was "perhaps the most richly gifted poetic nature the world has ever seen", and his poetry is "sacramental". The frontispiece to this volume is a hitherto unpublished portrait sketch of Keats by Haydon, which, if not its equal, is worthy to stand beside the drawing by the same artist in the National Portrait Gallery.

So much nonsense has been written about Strindberg that it is a relief to come across a sober and scholarly, if rather dry, account of the career of Sweden's greatest dramatist. *Strindberg: An Introduction to his Life and Work* (C.U.P., 12s. 6d.), by Miss Brita M. E. Mortensen and Mr. Brian W. Downs, gives the facts with the minimum of comment. In the section on the works most space is given, naturally, to the plays, but there are separate chapters on Strindberg's novels, short stories, autobiographical writings and miscellaneous works. In her Conclusion Miss Mortensen protests against the impression prevalent in England of Strindberg as a 'gloomy' writer, and pleads for a better appreciation of his humour. There is a classified bibliography and a striking portrait of the dramatist in 1905, seven years before his death.

The main theme of Professor Basil Willey's *Nineteenth Century Studies* (Chatto & Windus, 15s.) is the development of religious and moral ideas from Coleridge to Matthew Arnold. This is a vast and intractable subject. Not many critics could write impartially, still less sympathetically, of such extremes of thought as Newman's and John Stuart Mill's. But, though he scarcely succeeds in making a unity out of such diversity, Professor Willey writes with sympathy and insight even of Carlyle, perhaps the only one of the great figures of the period who is still under a cloud. His criticism is

valuable because it not only clarifies the controversies of the past, but considers their relevance to our own time.

First published in 1936, Dr. Edith Sitwell's *Victoria of England* (Faber, 12s. 6d.) has now been reprinted. This book, which may be prescribed as an antidote to Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria,* is not the history of a reign so much as a sincere and sympathetic portrait of a great woman and of some of her more remarkable contemporaries.

England Yesterday and To-Day (Batsford, 15s.) consists of extracts chiefly from novelists, both well-known and relatively unknown, of the period 1837 to 1938. The book is divided into seven sections (At Home, At School, At Work, Leisure, In Country, In Town, and In Society), each of which is introduced by the editor, Mr. F. Alan Walbank. This "fictitious" social history is well produced and copiously illustrated, but its harmony is marred by the inclusion of a few non-fictional passages.

In *The Making and Meaning of Words* (A. & C. Black, 8s. 6d.) Mr. G. H. Vallins admirably fulfils his purpose of proving that "a dictionary can be one of the most fascinating books in the world". This introduction to the historical development of English, though elementary, is a work of scholarship, and though intended for those who have little Latin and less Greek, can be read with profit by those who have more than a little of both. Of particular interest is the chapter on words derived from personal and place names.

P. A. SPALDING.

In the 1949 Burge Memorial Lecture, Professor R. H. Tawney suggests as the key to *The Western Political Tradition* (S.C.M., 1s. 6d.) the "denial of the finality of human institutions", both in the sense of "the Christian doctrine that institutions exist for men, not men for institutions", and inasmuch as "when conscience and authority collide, it is to God, not to man, that obedience is due".

An interesting commentary on this is to be found in Mr. Richard O'Sullivan's introduction to the second series of papers read to the Thomas More Society and now edited by him with the title *Under God and the Law* (Oxford: Blackwell, 10s. 6d.). Mr. O'Sullivan shows how "the law of England in its first recorded utterance reveals the influence of the Christian faith", but "in contemporary jurisprudence the existence of God and of His law is either denied or is treated as irrelevant". The other outstanding contribution to this Roman Catholic symposium is Professor A. W. Reed's "Young More".

Dr. C. S. Phillips' *Canterbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.) is a learned and sympathetic presentation of the cathedral and its "regular and incessant round of services" as part of the "vast system of spiritual traffic between earth and heaven".

In *The Church of Christ* (Burns, Oates, 8s. 6d.) Mgr. A. H. Ryan makes the conventional and confident, not to say complacent, claims for "the primacy and infallibility of the see of Rome". The book was not written with any reference to recent discussions of the subject.

Seeds of Contemplation (Hollis & Carter, 8s. 6d.), by Thomas Merton, is "the kind of book that writes itself almost automatically in a monastery". The presuppositions are therefore Roman Catholic ("Faith is first of all an intellectual assent": "In the actual living, human Person who is the Virgin Mother of Christ are all the poverty and all the wisdom of the saints"); but the writer's thoughts on such matters as "mental prayer" and "distractions" may speak to Christians of other communions than his own.

In *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, $6.50), No. 5 of the Rutgers Studies in English, Mr. D. J. McGinn has woven together excerpts from the *Admonition to the Parliament* of 1572, the "first

open manifesto of the puritan party" (Frere & Douglas), together with the five works by Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift which continued the controversy. This turned mainly on the two questions whether the only right ecclesiastical polity is contained in Scripture, and what is the right relation of the magistrate to the Church. In his introductory chapters Mr. McGinn weighs the scales heavily in favour of Whitgift, whose "writings inspire nothing but confidence", whereas Cartwright, "a consistent nonconformist", who "sets himself up as a law unto himself in scriptural interpretation", is careless, emotional and inconsistent, and his writings "turbid, tiresome, and crude".

In *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* (Harvard Univ. Press; London: Cumberlege, 22s.), Professor K. B. Murdock illustrates "The Puritan Literary Attitude" from history, personal literature (diaries, autobiographies and biographies) and poetry. Although in his judgment the New England writers produced nothing to compare with *Grace Abounding* or Lucy Hutchinson's memoir of her husband or Baxter's of his wife, the same principles are apparent on both sides of the Atlantic: the "conception of history as a record of God's providential management of the world", and of biography as "accounts how others had fared on the road toward Heaven". As for language and style, the Puritan "was sure that to stoop to fleshy tricks of style would be to gain nothing but a minute's applause; his interest was in the slow process by which man might be led to matured individual conviction".

Of his *Four Stuart Portraits* (Evans, 10s. 6d.) the Rev. H. Ross Williamson says "there is nothing to bind them together except my caprice". The four are: Sir Balthazar Gerbier, the connoisseur whose monument is to be found in "the great collections of Buckingham and Charles I"; Lancelot Andrewes, whose private virtues "have blinded men to the disasters of his public policy"; Sir John Eliot, the defender of "those rights, those privileges which made our fathers free men"; and Colonel Thomas Rainsborough, the "cold, uncompromising fanatic", whose "almost casual assassination" in 1648 left the Levellers' extreme radicalism an easy prey to Cromwell. The first and last studies are annotated and are longer than the others.

Also published by Evans, and in some dependence on the earlier work of Mr. Williamson, who holds that "history is essentially biography", is Mr. Philip Lindsay's *For King or Parliament* (10s. 6d.), another study of four early Stuart characters: Buckingham, here portrayed as one of "the great courtesans of history"; Strafford, "that iron man without dreams"; Hampden, "the dreamer", "with a nobility rare in history"; and Lovelace, the "amateur poet who strangely caught the heart of the world". This book "makes no pretension to any serious original research". There are portraits of the characters studied in both books. G. F. NUTTALL.

The Mother of God, ed. by E. L. Mascall (Dacre Press, 6s.). The subject of this little book is Mariology. In it Orthodox theologians of the Russian Church in exile and certain Anglo-Catholics expound to one another their doctrine of the Virgin Mary. The book contains a medley of sound doctrine, odd exegesis, fancy and mythology. It deserves the attention of Protestants, for their neglect of its subject (amounting even to terror) is unworthy. The best reply to fanciful doctrine is sound doctrine. There is much Biblical exegesis in this book, but it is for the most part typological and never strictly historical. If this discussion had been preceded by a scientific historical treatment of the New Testament, it could never have got under way. Much that the authors say of the Virgin Mary's place in human story no believer should be anxious to gainsay, but their theology tends to be florid.

N. MICKLEM.

Love (G. Quell and E. Stauffer) and *The Church* (K. L. Schmidt) (A. & C. Black, 6s. each) are the first of a number of selected articles, under the title *Bible Key Words,* which are being translated by the Rev. J. R. Coates from the great *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* begun before the war under the editorship of the late Gerhard Kittel, and now being continued with Gerhard Friedrich as editor. The importance of these books for student and preacher can scarcely be exaggerated. If we cannot have the whole *Wörterbuch* in English, this is the next best thing, and all students of the Old Testament, as well as of the New, will be grateful to the translator for his careful renderings of these studies by acknowledged experts.

Gospel Parallels (New York: Nelson) is a synopsis of the first three Gospels in the text of the American Revised Standard Version, and its arrangement follows the Huck-Lietzmann-Cross Synopsis. This work offers two advantages for the first time in an English synopsis: the non-canonical parallels, which are often valuable and always interesting, but not readily accessible to the average reader or student, are given in full; and the manuscript authority for variant readings is supplied, just as in a Greek Testament. No praise can be too great for this carefully planned and admirably executed project.

The Manhood of Jesus, by Geraldine Cummins (Dakers, 10s. 6d.), is said on the jacket to cast "a flood of illumination upon a hitherto unrealized aspect of the Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus". The book tells the story of the adult years of Jesus, including those before His ministry began, where imagination may, if we wish, be permitted to make up for our lack of knowledge. But the "flood of illumination" would appear to flow from an imaginative reinterpretation of the Slavonic Josephus, a source of doubtful value.

The Message of Life, by the Rev. J. I. Hasler (Carey Kingsgate Press, 5s.), consists of studies in the Johannine Epistles. The author, who was a missionary in India for 36 years, shows how the teaching of these Epistles supplies a need in Hinduism. This is quite a refreshing little study.

A. J. B. Higgins.

The Drama of Atheist Humanism, by Henri de Lubac, S.J. (Sheed & Ward, 15s.), contains brilliant and fascinating studies of Nietzsche and Comte as prophets of the anti-theistic movement of the nineteenth century, and of Dostoevsky as a prophet of the return to God; it also has slighter but penetrating notices of Feuerbach and Marx as anti-theists, and of Kierkegaard as a theist. The book is enlightening, forceful, and eminently readable.

The Essentials of Theism, by D.J.B. Hawkins (Sheed & Ward, 7s. 6d.), is a serious and solid discussion of its subject. Its purpose is to show the superiority of Thomism as a metaphysic of Being over philosophies of Becoming, such as Bergson's, and as a metaphysical treatment of causality over Hume's reduction of it to mental association and Kant's justification of it as a principle of pure reason; then further, with the ground thus cleared, to establish once more the Thomist proofs for the Divine existence and the whole Thomist doctrine of God, the principle of analogy being used to show how God can transcend the world and yet have affinity with it.

R. S. Franks.

One-volume surveys of the arts from cave-paintings to Post-Impressionism inevitably tend to be both sketchy and indigestible. They are likely to remain unread also, unless the reader is provoked by the illustrations to turn to the text. *The Story of Art,* by E. H. Gombrich (The Phaidon Press, 21s.), is remarkable because it is art history written entirely in terms of the pictures provided; the result is lively and convincing. If, as the author suggests, the book is intended for children and other innocents, a less specialized bibliography would be desirable.

Baroque Art, by G. Webb (British Academy: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 6s.), fills in details of the history in seventeenth-century England of an architectural movement deeply influenced by painting and the theatre.

K. M. HAMILTON.

In *The Reawakening of Christian Faith* (Macmillan, $2), B. E. Meland faces the human problem of 'meaningfulness in existence, given the fact that both life and death are our lot'. He finds evidence of a reawakened Christian consciousness in present-day culture and, following A. N. Whitehead, calls for a reinterpretation of Christian faith in terms of 'creative activity'.

An admirable addition to Methuen's 'Home Study Books' (and remarkable value at 5s.) is Prof. C. L. Wrenn's survey of *The English Language.* It is concise, amazingly comprehensive, well-arranged, and vigorously written: at once readable and scholarly—and blessed moreover with excellent bibliography and indexes. A standard work in miniature; a book to buy, not borrow.

J. G. WELLER.

The Methods of Christian Education, by Clifford M. Jones (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). This is a table of contents rather than a book. It lists the headings of everything of which teachers should be aware from the nursery school to the university, and it is to that extent most helpful. The bibliographies are particularly useful. But if it is compared with, say, the A.A.M. book on the teaching of geography, it will be obvious why religious education is still held in low esteem by so many competent teachers. It is not nearly good enough.

A. V. MURRAY.

Religious Teaching for Schools: The Cambridgeshire Syllabus (1949) (C.U.P., 7s. 6d.). The original Cambridgeshire Agreed Syllabus of Religious Instruction, issued in 1924, was a pioneer of its kind. It was widely adopted and served as an exemplar to many Education Authorities in the construction of their own Agreed Syllabuses. After many reprints it went into an improved second edition in 1939. The revisions in this new 1949 edition are so extensive that virtually it is an original production—shorter, even though it makes much use of the preceding editions, and offering much more freedom to the teacher. There are excellent introductory essays on the Christian message in an age in which science and communism shout their challenges, and on religion and worship in the mid-twentieth century school. The syllabus proper is presented in terms of age-groups—under 5, 5-7, 7-9, 9-11, 11-13, 13-15—and there is a most stimulating and thoughtful chapter on possible approaches to religious teaching in the Sixth Form. The concluding bibliography is a model of its sort and thoroughly up-to-date. W. R. NIBLETT.

The Way of a Surgeon, by George Sava (Faber & Faber, 10s. 6d.). George Sava is practised in the art of taking lay readers into the professional confidence. In this volume his *motif* is that of liberating the anxiety-ridden public from some of the misconceptions which turn words (especially the names of diseases) into bogeys. By recounting the astonishing recent advances in surgery he tries to induce a new approach to disease. Professional readers may be squeamish about his over-emotional disclosure of surgical details, but his intentions are good.

E. J. WELFORD.

The Anatomy of Courage, by Lord Moran (Constable, 4s.). A physician's study of fear in two world wars, and of the factors making for resistance to fear, and maintenance of morale. It is a common sense analysis and makes no profession of using the specialized technique and terminology of psychology.

Mysterious Marriage, by E. Graham Howe (Faber, 15s.). The title of this book is misleading. The marriage intended is that between the spirit as the sphere of religion, and the concrete world of space-time, matter, the world of

science; or put differently an integration between the 'I', the ultimate person, and the 'me', the psycho-physical individual who can be scientifically analysed. Certainly we are greater than our psychological mechanisms, though they limit us as a driver is limited by a broken or defective car. Whether Dr. Howe is successful in marrying these two realms of reality, opinions will probably differ, and it is hardly likely that he is founding a new English school of psychology as the dust cover says. But the attempt is interesting, and as a writer Dr. Howe is stimulating. H. J. S. GUNTRIP.

Kierkegaard the Cripple, by Theodor Haecker, translated by C. Van O. Bruyn (Harvill Press, 5s.). Assuming the truth of the discovery by the sculptor Rikard Magnussen, that Kierkegaard was hunchbacked, the author discusses the effect of this physical deformity upon Kierkegaard's mind and spirit. He maintains that it led Kierkegaard to confound absurdity with 'the paradox', and to demonstrate a "boundless horror of pity" which was apt to foster in him "un-Christian sentiments of pride and contempt". Haecker's Roman Catholicism tends occasionally to mar his argument, and leads him to the unwarranted assumption that one reason why Kierkegaard did not become the great teacher he might have been was because "he lived in heresy". In spite of differences between them, however, the author writes about Kierkegaard with admiration and gratitude. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

An American contribution to the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer has been provided by the Very Rev. J. W. Suter and the Rev. G. J. Cleaveland, respectively Dean and Canon Librarian of Washington Cathedral, in *The American Book of Common Prayer: Its Origin and Development* (O.U.P., London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 12s. 6d. net). After noting early instances of the use of the Prayer Book on American soil, Canon Cleaveland traces the history of the successive editions of the Prayer Book, with special reference to the American Versions of 1789, 1892 and 1928. Dean Suter adds a chapter on "The Prayer Book Today". There are eight black and white prints of historic copies of the Prayer Book now in Washington Cathedral and a four-colour frontispiece of the Prayer Book window which was dedicated in the Cathedral on Whit Sunday, 1949.

The Book of Uncommon Prayer is the title that the Rev. Frank W. Moyle would give to what others have described as the Church of England's "incomparable liturgy". Under this title he has written a book (Andrew Dakers, 8s. 6d. net) which is a vigorous plea for a far more thoroughgoing revision of Anglican forms of worship than any which has yet been attempted or is likely to be officially contemplated. He insists particularly on the importance of more suitable services for use at Baptism, Marriage and Burial when human life is touched at its most sensitive points. Many who would sympathize with the author's desire for reform would, however, feel less happy about the alterations Mr. Moyle would make than they do about the prayers and services he criticizes. One wonders how a man like Mr. Moyle can remain a clergyman of the Church of England and use, as presumably he does, the Book of Common Prayer in his own parish church.

The Book of Common Prayer: Its Making and Revisions, 1549-1661, by Professor E. C. Ratcliff (S.P.C.K., 10s.), is a wholly delightful book, most beautifully produced at remarkably low cost to the purchaser. Eighty illustrations, with explanatory notes, reproduce pages from pre-Reformation service books and from successive editions of the English Prayer Book. They give a very good idea of what these books looked like to those who used them three or four hundred years ago. The Introduction, of outstanding merit, provides a brief yet most comprehensive summary of the history of the Prayer Book from its first edition in 1549.

What the Book of Common Prayer has been to Anglicans for four hundred years the metrical psalms have been to Scottish Presbyterians. In *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (O.U.P., 12s. 6d. net) Dr. Millar Patrick has written a very sympathetic, yet not uncritical, historical survey of Scottish Psalmody, with special reference to the 1650 Psalter. The book is a fitting prelude to celebrations of the three hundredth anniversary of the present Scottish Psalter, which began the fourth century of its use in the Church of Scotland on 1st May, 1950. Dr. Patrick has the advantage of being an authority not only on the different versions of the psalms themselves but also on the music to which they have been set. His chapters are enlivened, especially in the second half of the book, with many entertaining anecdotes. There are thirteen admirable illustrations. JAMES M. TODD.

Dr. J. Edwin Orr studies with considerable detail in *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 17s. 6d.) the remarkable revival movement which, beginning in America in 1858, followed by parallel movements in Ulster, Scotland and Wales and then, to a lesser degree, in England in the following two years, constituted "a distinct and definite period of the expansion of the Christian Church". The distinctive features of this Awakening were a widespread and seemingly spontaneous turning to prayer by groups of Christian people in all parts of the English-speaking world. "In a general sense, leaderless, this Revival became the means of winning hundreds of thousands to the Christian way of life". Dr. Orr collects contemporary and local evidence for the extent of this movement throughout the British Isles and its stimulating effects upon the membership of the churches and upon subsequent social welfare work. We feel that he claims rather too much for the undenominational origins of this movement: study of the life and work of the denominations in the years prior to the Awakening would have shown a deepening concern for Home mission work, and a steady unifying of effort and purpose in the churches and through the "Unions". The increase in nonconformist church "sittings" in the decade was not by any means primarily due to the "Awakening" moreover: this was the era of new chapels among Congregationalists, for example, in commemoration of the Bicentenary of the Ejection of 1662, and it is certainly not true (p. 210) that *"the entire Home Mission Movement was not only inaugurated and manned, but also financed,* by Revival converts and sympathizers" (Dr. Orr's italics). Congregational Home Missions had been assiduously and effectively in action for a least half a century before this. Dr. Orr provides a valuable study of a neglected chapter in our religious history. CHARLES E. SURMAN.

Slavery in the Ancient Near East, by Isaac Mendelsohn (O.U.P., 36s.), is a fine, scholarly piece of work, carefully documented, and based on original sources. It throws light on the origin, development and function of slavery. It supplies plenty of material, both for the Old Testament scholar and the historian.

The Early Traditions of Genesis, by E. B. Redlich (Duckworth, 6s.). This is a volume in the "Colet Library". Its aim is to "search for the main historical truths which underlie the early traditions of *Genesis*". The style is popular, and the presentation of material interesting. But there is an unfortunate tendency to oversimplify difficulties. This can be seen in the treatment of myths and legends. J. WOOD.

Tribal Heritage: A Study of the Santals, by W. J. Culshaw (Lutterworth Press, 21s.). This is one of the Missionary Research Series published under the auspices of the Selly Oak Department of Missions. The author is a

missionary among the Santals of Bengal, and his study is based upon personal investigation as well as upon wide reading. In the first twelve chapters there is an account of the life of the Santal people, its traditions, festivals, religious practices and (so far as these can be made explicit) beliefs. In particular the importance of the clan organization is clearly brought out. The last two chapters deal soberly with the impact of Christian missions upon these people and the consequent growth of 'a new community' among them. Those directly interested in the Santals will be grateful for this book: and it will be read with profit by all those, anthropologists and missionaries, interested in peoples of similar background. F. H. Brown.

Modern Missions in the South Pacific, by J. W. Burton (Livingstone Press, 7s. 6d.), is a masterly book by a missionary with over 40 years' experience of the South Seas. Much of what he says is applicable to the whole foreign enterprise of Christian evangelism. This is definitely a book on *modern* missions and contains much wise judgment on such matters as education and collaboration between mission and government. The author champions the native peoples, but is not blind to their faults. He is emphatic that missionaries must be men of the highest quality, not the cast-offs of the Home churches. There is a final chapter by H. L. Hurst on the work of the L.M.S., and a useful, though not exhaustive, bibliography.

Helen Waddell's *Stories from Holy Writ* (Constable, 8s. 6d.) have the graphic quality and literary touch which will make much of the Bible come alive for those who read or listen to them. How could it be otherwise, from the pen of the author of *Peter Abelard*?

Congregationalists may take some pride in the fact that in February 1900 our Memorial Hall housed a conference out of which the Labour Party was born. Francis Williams's *Fifty Years' March* (Odhams, 7s. 6d.) describes the evolution of the party from then to its present position. It is a fascinating story well told. The strength of the Labour Party has lain in the men of solid character who have been its foundation, few of whom achieved or desired prominence. Outstanding in this history are Keir Hardie and Henderson; Macdonald comes in for a rather unsympathetic appraisal. It is perhaps inevitable that more space should be given to the years before Labour formed a Cabinet, but such claims as "a social revolution has been carried through" should have been argued with more detail than the compressed closing pages provide. Mr. Williams attributes the success of the Labour Party not only to courageous leadership and good organization but also to characteristic British traits in its programme and methods. It was never a purely T.U.C. party and its avowed Marxists have never been very influential. Not to be forgotten is its moral idealism which derived largely from Nonconformity.

E. C. B.

The Four Gospels in One Story, by F. Wills Crofts (Longmans: 8s. 6d. cloth, 5s. paper), is a new Diatessaron in modern colloquial English. Each of the seventeen chapters is followed by interesting and relevant notes revealing careful study of commentaries and versions. And the Index is as valuable as the Notes. The writer's purpose can only be fulfilled by much straining, some suppression and some addition. To this the scholar rightly objects. But a further question must be faced. Will this admittedly imperfect work present Christ anew? The answer must be that in many quarters it will do precisely that. After all, most of us make a selective Diatessaron in our own minds.

In spite of a distressing number of minor blemishes, *The Greatest Story Ever Told,* by Fulton Oursler (The World's Work, 15s.), may be unreservedly commended. Here is the Gospel Story told again vividly and simply, with

devotion and with taste. One naturally compares it with Paterson Smyth's *A People's Life of Christ,* but this is by far the better book. A cheaper edition would be most welcome.

The Rev. J. W. Waterhouse has done a useful piece of work in his commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude entitled *Into His Marvellous Light* (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.). This small book is meant for the lay student of the English Bible: but no one will work through it without profit. It contains a wealth of linguistic study and it lays passage alongside passage in an illuminating way. Especially valuable are the questions for study which follow each section of commentary. But is it fair to write with such proper hesitation about the authorship of *II Peter* and then to invoke Petrine authorship as an aid to exegesis?

Hagiography sticks in the throat, but Mr. F. J. Sheed's contributors to *Saints Are Not Sad* (Sheed & Ward, 12s. 6d.) give us forty biographical portraits of Saints from Paul to Teresa of Lisieux such as give the old word a new connotation. A careful and sympathetic reading of this book might dispel some of the shocking misconceptions which still exist in Protestant minds. Particularly commended for consideration are the passage on Purgatory (p. 238ff.), the frank passage about the corruptions of the Medieval Church (p. 270ff.), and that on Sainthood (325ff.). Of the forty Saints, twenty-three are pre-Reformation and seventeen post-Reformation. Few will be able to resist the fascinating exercise of discovering the Protestant counterpart of each Catholic Saint named in the second list.

The aim of illustrating the Bible story by reproductions of famous pictures is not new. But in *A Pictorial Gospel,* by E. Hodgkin (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.), we are given an almost complete Life of Christ illustrated from the works of the old masters and told in the words of the Gospels. It is justly claimed that many of the 119 illustrations will be unfamiliar. The price is very moderate for so handsome a book.

The latest volume of the Torch Biographies is *The Yellow Robe,* a life of the Sadhu Sundar Singh by Cyril J. Davey (S.C.M., 5s.). Written in simple, vivid style, it is an excellent introduction to one of the saints of our generation. We have the story of the Sadhu's conversion, of his growing influence in India, of the annual journeys into Tibet and of his disappearance there in 1929. It is admitted to be "a life which few people completely understood", and this element of mystery makes it the more fascinating. The addition of a map would have increased the profit and enjoyment of the reader.

Readers of Dr. Lynn Harold Hough's *The Dignity of Man* (Independent Press, 6s.) are likely to divide into two camps. The writer glories in the title of Christian Humanist and is stimulatingly abusive of "psychopathic theologians . . . lecturing with dark fury about the low estate of man". Over against their exaggerations Dr. Hough sets a picture of man made in the image of God, man whose very sense of sin declares his responsibility and his capacity for nobler living. The heart of the book lies in its careful distinction between sin and evil. One turns eagerly to see what is said of the Cross. What is said is simple, evangelical and "objective" enough. Very welcome is the stress in the closing chapters on the Fellowship of the Forgiven and the social implications of salvation. A word of congratulation is owed to the publishers. The book is neat and dignified in appearance and the price reasonable.

When Mark Twain read Chaucer he remarked what a pity it was that no one taught these excellent old writers to spell. So one feels on encountering 50 misprints in *Verdict on Jesus,* by Leslie S. R. Badham (Williams & Norgate, 9s. 6d.). Such slovenliness shakes one's faith in the erudition claimed for the author on the dust-jacket. That is a pity, because although

the book is not profound it is fresh. A mass of evidence is piled up as to the lasting and world-wide influence of Jesus Christ. The reader is challenged to find any explanation other than that here we have the revelation of the Eternal God. J. WILDING.

Life and The Theatre (Harrap, 7s. 6d.), by Lynton Hudson, is a survey of the developments in drama in Europe during the last 30/40 years. There is penetrating analysis both of particular plays and playwrights and also of such movements as Expressionism, the Social Drama and Metaphysical and Psychological Drama; and these experimental and revolutionary forms are sympathetically related to the political and social background of Europe in our day. This well-ordered study comes at last, and briefly, to the English Theatre which has escaped the violence of Continental Europe, and hopes for more wholesale development both at home and abroad.

The Doctor's Profession (S.C.M. Press, 5s.), edited by Rev. D. T. Jenkins, is "the fruit of a series of discussions . . . by a group of Christian doctors". It deals not only with such obvious questions as euthanasia, abortion and artificial insemination, but also with the doctor's relation to the state and society and the nature of his profession.

Since 1939: 2 (Phoenix House Press, 12s. 6d.) is a collection of four essays originally published for the British Council in 1946/7. Robert Speaight writes on Drama, Henry Reed on The Novel, Stephen Spender on Poetry, John Hayward on Prose Literature. The essays tend to be catalogues rather than criticism. But it is good to be reminded that so much worth cataloguing was written during the war. The book is generously illustrated with photographs. K. W. WADSWORTH.

Empire and After, by Rita Hinden. (Essential Books, 12s. 6d.) This study of British Imperial attitudes gives a very lucid and well documented treatment of its theme. The main vicissitudes of the Imperial Idea are satisfactorily outlined from the seventeenth century to the present day; but the book somehow lacks the awareness of the complexity of its subject, so that while it is very good as a survey of the field, on the interpretative side its very clarity is too simple to be convincing.

W. D. DAVIES.

Stafford Cripps, by Mr. Eric Estoric (Heinemann, 21s.), is a well written biography brought up to the year 1949. Sir Stafford and we ourselves are too closely involved in the yet unresolved efforts to re-establish the British economy and to establish the welfare State for any final estimate to be made of his contribution to the history of our time. Here is the story of a brilliant member of a middle-class family, who after Winchester chose the London School of Economics instead of Oxford, became a leading figure at the Bar, was converted to Socialism, and was expelled from the Labour Party of which he is now one of the most trusted leaders. Much of this is necessarily the story of our tempestuous time and of the Labour Party in power for the first time. There emerges an attractive picture of a man of outstanding ability, inflexible integrity and deep religious faith. High office in these days imposes extraordinary strains upon the most robust, but his friends and his country hope that much will yet be added to this present account of a statesman who commands the respect and may live to acknowledge the gratitude of the country he served through these most crucial years.

Booker T. Washington, by Mr. Basil Mathews (S.C.M. 18s.), is written with all the care and skill the author has taught us to expect from him. Washington's autobiography *Up From Slavery* made a wide appeal in many languages but was of course incomplete. Here the full story of this extraordinary man and his life's work is told. He began on a slave planta-

tion, never eating a meal or sleeping in a bed. How he began to acquire education and to see that the coloured people must find self-discipline and learn practical skills: his vigour and insight in the foundation of Tuskegee, Alabama, which under his direction became a first-class technical and industrial institution, entirely staffed by negroes: his travelling, writing and speaking on behalf of negro education and race conciliation make an absorbing story. The quality of his oratory comes through in the quotations from his memorable speeches, and his gifts of conciliation are well revealed. In his later years he was in honourable conflict with the Negro Left Wing. Mr. Mathews is excellent on these later difficult years. A wonderful story finely told.

The Navy and the Slave Trade, by Christopher Lloyd (Longmans, 21s.), is an enthralling account of the work of the Royal Navy in carrying out the Acts of 1807 and 1833 which abolished first the Trade and then slavery itself. The Trade was so lucrative and among the Arabs so old-established that to pass Acts of Parliament was only a beginning of slow, dull and dangerous work for the British Foreign Office and the ships at sea. Always however there were statesmen, notably Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and sailors like Owen and Moresby whose determined humanity gave the slavers no rest. It is a fine illustration of the use of power and should be read at this time if only to remind ourselves that the 19th century had its great movements, and that in the accountancy of history the debt incurred to Africa and the Africans has not yet been fully discharged.

The Emergence of a World Christian Community, by Prof. K. S. Latourette (Yale Univ. Press: London, Cumberlege, 8s. 6d.) consists of three chapters—the historical background, the present status and what of the future? The author's point of view is now generally known, and if on this side of the Atlantic we are inclined to think his outlook easier to maintain in America than anywhere else in the world, who is to say that our fears are not liars? So this book is another tonic. It describes the ecumenical movement of thought as well as organization and gives pointers to lines of future development. It is to be heartily recommended.

From Cave Painting to Comic Strip, by Prof. Lancelot Hogben (Parrish, 21s.), is in the style now generally associated with the author, who here tells the story of the development of pictorial representation from primitive man's murals, the invention of the alphabet followed in due time by numerical notation, to printing and the present-day newspaper and illustrated book. It would almost appear from the example before us that the circle is complete, for the illustrations, chosen by Miss Marie Neurath, are by far its best part. The letterpress is casual, admittedly written or dictated for popular sale in the United States, and the author shrank from "the labour of translating it into my mother tongue." It is strange that a writer who professes so much concern for beauty should so scorn the graces of language. But the pictures are very good indeed.

J. Mills Phillips.

Religion and the New Paganism (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.), by the Rev. John Pitts, a Presbyterian minister in U.S.A., was a prize-winning work in a competition sponsored by the publishers. The author writes with style and clarity and enlivens his work with apt quotations and illustrations Moreover, he is intellectually well equipped for a survey which covers a wide field comprising the New Mood, the New Psychology, the New Morality, the New Politics and the New Humanism. This is emphatically a book to be read, especially by ministers, who will find it full of suggestions. It runs into 274 pages, and the Independent Press is to be congratulated on having produced it at a very reasonable price.

L. J. Tizard.

SMALL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Stanley Morison's *"English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship"* (Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d. net.) is now published in an expanded and illustrated Third Edition. Its purpose is to describe the most important books used in public worship in England by the principal organized bodies.

"The Way to Worship" by A. G. Reekie (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.) can be warmly commended to ministers and laymen for its thoughtful suggestions about public worship. It rightly emphasizes the importance of due preparation for worship, and discusses the place of prayer, praise, reading and preaching in the Church service which reaches its climax in communion.

Our Heritage of Free Prayer (Independent Press, 9d.), speaks sympathetically but critically of "the increasing popularity of set prayers in Nonconformity" and makes a strong plea on behalf of extemporary prayer. It fails to distinguish between different kinds of "free" prayer, especially between prayer which is freely chosen, adapted or written for the occasion and that which is strictly *ex tempore*. Nevertheless, this pamphlet contains many helpful suggestions. The proof reading should have been done more carefully and the page references checked. J. M. Todd.

The sermons of Dr. S. W. Carruthers in his *The Kindness of God* (Epworth Press, 4s.), are examples of Lay Preaching at its best.

The Rev. Hubert C. Libbey's *The Eight Deadlier Sins* (Longmans, 4s.) is the Bishop of London's Lent Book. It is a rather disturbing analysis of the sins seldom dwelt on which can darken life; pride, envy, malice, etc. Why can we not have a Lent book on the sunnier aspects of life?

Dr. E. D. Bebb's *Wesley, a man with a Concern* (Epworth Press, 6s.) surveys John Wesley's economic and social teaching in relation to his vast work as a preacher; and it also touches on Wesley's attitude to some of the special social evils of the day. It is rather difficult to associate Wesley with economics; but Dr. Bebb seems to make out a case. A. T. S. James.

Christian Action, by Diana Collins (Gollancz, 6s.) shows the "permanently uneasy conscience", which Gore desiderated, at work. While one hesitates to criticize the Christian discipleship displayed here, the book produces a depressing sense of Christian amateurishness. W. D. Davies.

The Soul of Prayer (Independent Press, 5s.) by P. T. Forsyth. Readers of Forsyth will not expect this latest volume of the Independent Press's re-issue of his works to be another "little book about prayer". Here is the theologian and preacher thinking searchingly about the nature and meaning as well as the practice of prayer.

Four Sacred Plays (Gollancz, 4s. 6d.) by Miss Dorothy L. Sayers, include *The Zeal Of Thy House, The Devil To Pay, The Just Vengeance* and *He That Should Come*. These are not only good plays of their kind (mostly Festival productions) but also important because of Miss Sayers' skilful statements of Christian truth. Some have been offended at the "naturalism" or "crudity" of her presentation of Christian doctrine. It is sufficient to say that she takes the Incarnation quite seriously. Her verse is seldom great poetry but is usually effective.

Seven Plays For Children (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) by various authors, is published on behalf of the Religious Drama Society. Most originality is shown in a Morality, *The Anatomy Of Mischief*, a play that older children will delight in. Its one fault (common to most of the plays) is occasional stiltedness and artificiality of dialogue.

Cyprian (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.) by Miss Freda Collins. A full-length dramatization of the 3rd century Bishop of Carthage and his Christian leadership during persecution and plague, culminating in martyrdom; but the basic theme of the play appears to be the value of penance. The large cast will require careful handling in production.

Three new short plays are available in the useful Speedwell Series (Independent Press, 1s. each). *Bread of Heaven* by Robert Duce is about the family at Bethany. *Richard Woodman* by Barbara Van Kempen is the story of a Protestant Martyr under Queen Mary. *The Becketts of Cheapside* by Vera I Arlett tells of the family into which Thomas of Canterbury was born.

Why Should I Kill Myself? by Rev. T. Veitch (Skeffington, 4s. 6d.). A sincere attempt to persuade the man who never goes to Church and who seldom reads more than a newspaper that the Christian Faith and the Church are relevant and can be effective in this present evil world.

Listen on Wednesday (S.C.M. Press, 5s.) by Rev. J. G. Williams is a selection of 80 talks from Children's Hour Prayers. Mr. Williams has an enviable gift of getting young people to approach religion with the right *feeling* towards it.

K. W. Wadsworth.

His Servants the Prophets by E. W. Heaton (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) is an excellent book. The style is clear. The scholarship is exact. The material is well arranged. The criticisms of modern views are judicious. A very helpful contribution to our understanding of the Prophets.

The Jews from Cyrus to Herod by N. H. Snaith (Religious Education Press, 6s.) is the second volume in a new series edited by Dr. Basil Yeaxlee. The first part deals in seven brief chapters with "The Historical Background". The second part, dealing with "The Religious Development", occupies about three-quarters of the book and forms an excellent introduction to Old Testament Theology. The book is furnished with maps, bibliography, table of dates and index.

Study Notes on the Old Testament, by F. A. Farley (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.), is intended for Methodist Local Preachers. It supplies useful notes on selected passages. The language is non-technical and the book is likely to be very useful within its limits. J. Wood.

For Today, by D. T. Niles (Lutterworth Press, 8s. 6d.). The author of these Bible studies for a year, a Tamil by race, is a Methodist minister in Ceylon, and had the honour of preaching at the opening service of the Amsterdam Conference. He has been influenced by Barth and the Neo-orthodox school, and it is perhaps significant of this that the Life of Christ forms the subject of the *second* part of this volume, part I being a study of the Christian Life, as set forth in the Scriptures. But whatever the reader's presuppositions, he will find in these studies with their penetrating and epigrammatic exegesis much that is illuminating; and he will be grateful to the Oriental Christian who has brought forth out of the treasures of God's Word things both new and old. E. C. Dewick.

The Pattern of the Future is the verbatim text of the four broadcasts given last summer by Alex Comfort (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 6s.). The standpoint is that of scientific humanism. Here, simply put, is brilliant thinking about the present position of man and society which concerns us all, and challenges the Christian in particular to ponder what his faith means. For this provocative book makes a different diagnosis of human nature from the Biblical one, and its gospel, though godless, is not without hope. E. C. B.

Bertrand Russell, by H. W. Leggett (Prager, 7s. 6d.), is rightly described as a pictorial biography. Nearly half its 78 pages are occupied by excellently reproduced photographs. The letterpress gives a brief sketch of Earl Russell's life and work with a list of his books.

Who Runs Britain? (Contact Publications, 3s.) is good value for money. There are fourteen short essays, well illustrated, by various writers on representative men and their associated institutions who 'run the country'. J. M. P.

ALSO RECEIVED

The Miracle of the Mountains (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, Ltd., 3s. 6d.). An account by I. M. Kingsbury of Portugal's rival to Lourdes.
Maiden Tribute, by M. Unsworth (Salvationist Publishing Co., 6s.).
The Things That Remain (Adult School Union Handbook 1950).
Should Women Be Priests? by Canon Howard (Blackwell, Oxford, 2s. 6d.).
Difficulties (Mowbrays, 4s., paper). Anglican contributors, not all parsons, answer questions about the Christian faith.
G. K. Chesterton, A Christian Prophet for Today, consists of two lectures by M. B. Reckitt (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d.).
Come To The Bower, by R. H. Mottram (Hutchinson, 9s. 6d.). Excellent as social study; as a novel it lacks plot.
The Marriage Relationship. Report. (Friends' House, N.W.1, 9d.)
Der Quäker George Fox, by P. Held (Reinhardt, Basel, 22.50 fr.). The first life of Fox to appear in German.
Why Men Believe in Jesus Christ, by D. W. C. Ford (Lutterworth Press, 3s.). Sound scholarship and forceful exposition.
Christianity and Marxism, by Mervyn Stockwood (S.P.C.K., 2s.).
From Independent Press:
Communism: The Two-way Challenge (6d.). Excellent for group discussion.
Christian Drama (6d.). On the relation of drama to Christian faith, with notes on production, *etc.*
Marmalade Days, by J. V. Wilson (2s. 6d.). Thirty talks to children.

CORRECTION

In our April number (p. 187) our reviewer, accepting a claim made in the book under review, credited the Rationalist Press Association with "the first cheap editions of good books, other than novels." This needs correction, for Cassell & Co.'s National Library was issuing classics at 3d. (paper) and 6d. (cloth) as early as 1896. The error is regretted, and we are indebted to a correspondent for calling attention to it.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (April). The Wordsworth centenary is noted appreciatively in an article by Mr. Richard Church. Prof. Horton Davies thinks that the "Ministers of Tomorrow" must exercise a four-fold ministry—teaching, missionary, experimental and ecumenical. "How the Roman Church Makes Converts" is a living issue trenchantly discussed by Prof. H. L. Stewart. Other interesting contributions include "The Present Status of Telepathy", "The Relevance of Pascal", and "A Forgotten Free Catholic" (Lamennais).

Expository Times (February and March). Prof. A. M. Hunter's selection of the ten most important books on "The Life of Christ in the Twentieth Century" ranges from Sanday and Denney to Goguel and Otto. The series on the Doctrine of Man is represented by Prof. J. Marsh ("The Goodness of the Godless") and the Rev. P. S. Watson ("The Holy Spirit and Man"). Prof. H. H. Rowley reviews recent foreign theology, and the Rev. R. M. L. Waugh draws anticipated conclusions from "The Preacher and His Greek New Testament".

Church Quarterly Review (January-March). The Rev. F. L. Cross discusses "The Present Relevance of the Patristic Age" and the Rev. T. Nicklin "The Messiah's Baptism and the Holy Ghost". A paper on the "Religious Difficulties and Doubts of the Present Generation" by Mr. G. T. Lapsley has, although delivered more than thirty years ago, a surprising up-to-dateness.

Baptist Quarterly (January). A number of articles deal with domestic interests, *e.g.*, "The Brewer Family" and "Dr. John Ward's Trust". The Rev. J. G. Patrick calls attention to "The Influence of 'Imitatione Christi' ".

Presbyterian World (March). Rather heavy reading; its scholarship seems to lack journalistic vitality. There are articles on "Christian Stewardship in the Reformed Tradition in the U.S.A.", "The Bangkok Conference", and "Problems and Prospects of the Netherlands Reformed Church".

Teachers of Today (March-May). Appears in an attractive new cover and format. Nothing essential seems to have been lost by the reduction of its pages.

Harvard Theological Review (January). Entirely devoted to three scholarly articles: "The Collection for the Saints" by Mr. C. H. Buck; "Paul of Constantinople" by Dr. W. Telfer; and "Phases of Grosseteste's Intellectual Life" by Prof. J. C. Russell.

Review of Religion (March). Prof. A. Salomon writes informatively on "Democracy and Religion in the Work of Erasmus". Prof. J. L. Blau, in an article entitled "Freedom of Prayer", raises the question of the desirability of opening public assemblies with prayer. Reviews occupy seventy pages.

Review and Expositor (January). Prof. Dale Moody discusses "Present Theological Trends" under four headings: Roman Catholic, Dispensational, Lundensian and Barthian. Prof. G. H. Ranson writes on "The Ethics of Albert Schweitzer" and the Rev. O. T. Binkley on "Equipment for Christian Action".

Theology Today (April). Prof. G. Florovsky writes on "The Eastern Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement"; Prof. G. Baker discusses "The Christian Church under Non-Christian Rulers"; and Prof. W. Eichrodt contributes "The Right Interpretation of the Old Testament: a Study of Jeremiah 7¹-15".

Yale Review (Winter). An excellently balanced number, containing articles with political, literary and domestic concerns. "Strategic Implications of the North Atlantic Pact" by Mr. Bernard Brodie, "Settlement for Germany" by Prof. F. H. Hartmann, and "Liberal Journalism: A Diagnosis" by Mr. George Soule are outstanding.

H. CUNLIFFE JONES.

ALSO RECEIVED

Nouvelle Revue Theologique (November-May). A monthly journal of distinction published at Louvain under Jesuit direction, with articles on all aspects of theology, and reviews in all the West European languages.

The Huntington Library Quarterly (Nov. 1949 and Feb. 1950). Published from the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Articles interpretative of English and American Civilization. No reviews.

World Christian Digest (Winter 1949-50 and February 1950).